

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OR

THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND,

From the Norman Conquest to the Reign of Victoria;

OR,

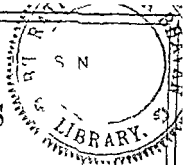
ROYAL BOOK OF BEAUTY.

EDITED BY MARY HOWITT

ILLUSTRATED BY THIRTY ONE HIGHLY FINISHED PORTRAITS ON STEEL

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Those marked with an asterisk (*) have Engraved Portraits

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THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

MATILDA OF FLANDERS,

WIFE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

MATILDA OF FLANDERS, wife of the Norman Conqueror, was one of those royal consorts who have exercised great influence, not only over the minds of their husbands, but of the nation at large. She was descended from the ancient Kings of France. Her mother was Adelais, daughter of Robert, King of France, and by her father, Baldwin the Fifth, Earl of Flanders, she was directly descended from the noblest and wisest of the Saxon kings, Alfred the Great, through the marriage of his daughter, Elstrith, with Baldwin the Second of Flanders.

Of the more immediate ancestors of Queen Matilda, it may be said that Baldwin the Fourth, her grandfather, was a warlike prince. His son and heir, Baldwin the Fifth, her father, obtained the surname of "the Gentle," on account of his goodness and piety. Henry the First, King of France, not only entrusted to him the education of his two sons, but appointed him regent of the kingdom, during the minority of the eldest, so highly did he esteem his prudence and good qualities.

Matilda was born in the year 1031. She was remarkable for her beauty, and her natural endowments, and being carefully educated became one of the most learned and accomplished princesses of her time. Her skill in needlework and embroidery was very extraordinary, as is proved by her great work, the Bayeux tapestry, which is still in existence. This remarkable performance, which, as a national chronicle, possesses great value, belongs, however, to a later period of

Matilda's life At present we see her only as the young Princess of Flanders, the fame of whose beauty and accomplishments brought many suitors to the court of her father "

Amongst Matilda's numerous lovers came her cousin, Prince William of Normandy, son of the benevolent Duke Robert, no less esteemed by the Norman people for his important services, than were his great ancestors, Rollo and Richard "the Good"

This prince seemed destined for greatness He was young, handsome, and of a warlike character His commanding figure and fine talents, which had been cultivated at the court of France, entitled him to hope for success with the fair object of his choice, of whom he appears to have been sincerely enamoured But unfortunately, his near consanguinity, and his illegitimate birth, presented objections on the part of her parents, whilst Matilda herself, entirely engrossed by her attachment to Brihtic, a young Saxon nobleman, who had been sent as ambassador to the court of her father by Edward the Confessor, gave him a decided refusal These difficulties, however, which might have daunted a character of less determination than that of William, seemed by no means to check his ardour For seven years he steadfastly persevered in his suit, stimulated, not only by his passion for his fair cousin, but by the political advantages which would accrue to him from her alliance

Fortunately for William, Matilda, who had inspired him with so ardent and so faithful a love, met with no return of affection from the young Saxon, to whom she had given her heart, therefore, after seven long years of tedious waiting, he determined at once to make an end of the courtship, and that by a means which, in an ordinary case, would have promised nothing but success He waylaid Matilda one day in the streets of Bruges, when she was returning from church, and seizing her, rolled her in the mud, spoiled all her gay attire, and then, after striking her several times, rode off at full speed This conduct, and from a lover especially, appears most extraordinary, but it was according to the fashion of the rude Norse wooing which was familiar enough to William from the ballads and traditions of his Scandinavian ancestry, and the result in his case was the same as is chronicled of all such stout old heroes The lady, convinced at once of the force of her lover's passion by the strength of his arm, and fearing, perhaps, further corporeal punishment, submitted, as the wisest course His love was accepted—perhaps returned, and the marriage-day was fixed.

The nuptials were celebrated at the duke's castle of Angé, in Normandy, in the year 1052, whither Matilda had been conducted by her parents with great pomp, the Earl of Flanders making many rich presents in addition to the dowry of his daughter. The garments of the bride were of the most costly materials and workmanship, and her mantle, adorned with jewels, together with that of her husband, were long preserved in the Cathedral of Bayeux.

The nuptial festivities over, William conducted his bride through his dominions, and received the homage of his vassals, after which he established his court at Rouen. Never, perhaps, was happiness more complete than that of William and his accomplished consort, who, we are assured, whatever was the previous state of her affections, became devotedly attached to her husband. From this period she also interested herself in many noble and intellectual pursuits, by which she acquired universal respect. The title also of William to the ducal crown, which, on account of his illegitimate birth, had been questioned, was now fully established, whilst his union with Matilda, herself a legitimate descendant of the royal line, gave stability to his power; add to which the death of the King of France at this time freed him from apprehension of disturbance in that quarter. From this auspicious period William and Matilda passed many years in great conjugal felicity, which was augmented by the birth of several children.

Their happiness, however, was not without alloy. William's uncle, the haughty Mauger, Archbishop of Rouen, who had received many favours from him, took offence at his marriage, and even went so far as to excommunicate the newly married cousins, on the plea of consanguinity, declaring that nothing could expiate their offence but instant separation. William sought, at first, by liberal contributions to the Church, to allay the wrath of this prelate, but in vain; he then appealed to the Pope, the powerful and far-famed Gregory the Seventh. The afterwards celebrated Lanfranc, at that time a man of but little note, was employed on this mission; and so effective were his zeal and eloquence that Pope Gregory, unwilling to proceed to extremities with so potent a prince, and one who had paid such deference to him, granted a full dispensation; making, however, an especial proviso, that William and Matilda should atone for their offence, by founding each an abbey for the religious of their own sex. In obedience to which William erected, in 1064, the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Stephen, in Caen, and Matilda the Church of the

Holy Trinity, in the same city. They were called the "Abbaye aux Hommes" and the "Abbaye aux Dames," and were situated about a mile from each other. A stately palace was also erected by William within the precincts of St. Stephen's, for a royal residence.

Fourteen years after his marriage, William undertook his great expedition against England. He had at first much difficulty in prevailing upon his nobles to embark with him in so perilous an enterprise; but having overcome their opposition, he sailed in September, 1066, in a beautiful vessel called the "Mora," which had been presented to him for this purpose by his wife. It was adorned in a style of royal magnificence, and on the prow was placed the effigy of their youngest child, in gold, as some writers have said; holding a trumpet to his lips with his left hand, and with his right pointing with a bow and arrow towards England. This device was intended by Matilda to inspire her husband with confidence in the success of his undertaking and scarcely was this appropriate gift presented, than, as if the very elements aided in concert, a favourable breeze sprung up, "and joyful clamour," says the old chronicler, "then arising summoned every one to the ships."

The result of this invasion is well known. It gained for William the appellation of "the Conqueror," and for Matilda, the title of Queen; a title which until then was unknown in England.

The news of Duke William's victory at Hastings, and of his complete success, was soon conveyed to his wife, who, during his absence, had been left regent in Normandy, an office which she filled greatly to the satisfaction of the people. She was engaged at her devotions in the church of the Benedictines at Notre Dame du Pré, near St. Sevre, a church which she herself had founded in 1060, when the news of her husband's good fortune reached her. In commemoration of this circumstance, she ordered that this church should henceforth be called the "Priory of Our Lady of Good Tidings," which name it bears to the present day. But Matilda left to posterity a still more permanent and valuable memorial of her conjugal affection and taste, as well as an astonishing proof of the skill of her times, in that elaborate piece of workmanship called the *Bayeux Tapestry*, of which we have before spoken. This important work of art, the earliest notice of which is found in an inventory of the effects of the Abbey of Bayeux, in 1476, where it is called, "*A very long piece of cloth, embroidered with figures and writing, representing the conquest of England*," is in fact an historical chronicle, presenting in needlework

a picture of events, commencing with the visit of Harold to the Norman court, and ending with his death on the fatal field of Hastings—a pictorial history important not only as a narrative of great events, but as a faithful memorial of the costume and manners of the age. That this epic in embroidery, which celebrates the warlike achievements of William, was a work of love on the part of his wife, may be easily believed; and in this point of view it also acquires a deep additional interest.

After the battle of Hastings, and the subjugation of the English, the Conqueror caused his own coronation to take place, and received the homage and submission of the chief nobility. Matilda, though not yet crowned, had assumed the title of Queen, probably, on the occasion of William's return to Normandy, six months after the conquest of England. This return to Normandy created universal joy. Matilda and her children received him on shore a little below the Abbey of Fescamp, while all classes of his subjects vied with each other in doing him honour. Several months were spent in triumphal progresses through the towns and cities of Normandy, when a spirit of discontent and rebellion arising in his newly acquired territories, William again, in the stormy month of December, embarked for England, having left Matilda and their son Robert regents in Normandy during his absence.

Tranquillity being once more restored, William sent over for Matilda. Accordingly, the following Easter, she and her children arrived in England, being joyfully met by William at Winchester, where preparations were immediately made for their coronation. Matilda's new subjects, who now for the first time beheld her, seem to have been greatly pleased by her manners and appearance. The coronation took place on Whitsunday at Winchester. The day was auspicious, and the weather fine; the company numerous and noble, and as an important feature of the occasion, it is recorded that William was in so remarkably gracious a mood as to grant favours to all who asked him. Before the ceremony of coronation, Matilda was served by her Norman nobility; but afterwards by her new English subjects, who, as has been said, were won by her prepossessing exterior. Nevertheless, the title of Queen, which she had assumed and which conveyed to their minds only an idea of sovereignty—was displeasing to the English, the wives of whose kings had hitherto been styled merely *lady*; and Matilda was spoken of as "the strange woman," who had assumed a title of authority to which she had no right. Yet, although the office of champion was instituted on the occasion of this coronation, and the

champion challenged three times to single combat any one who should deny that William and Matilda were King and Queen of England, yet no one did it, and Matilda maintained by their consent, as it might appear, the title of Queen. Towards the end of the same year she gave birth to her fourth son, Henry, at Selby, in Yorkshire.

We are now, however, constrained to notice a dark shade on the hitherto fair character of Matilda. It will be remembered that one of the impediments to the smooth course of William's wooing was the love which Matilda bore to Brihtric, a young Saxon nobleman, who, singularly enough, treated her preference with disdain. This slighted love must have rankled deeply in the soul of Matilda, and perhaps even William owed him a grudge for the tedious courtship which he had caused him. Be that as it might, twenty years afterwards, and after fourteen years of singularly happy married life, when, on the conquest of England, William rewarded his Norman lords and followers with the lands of the Saxon nobles, he bestowed the possessions of Brihtric, which lay in Gloucestershire, on his queen by her own desire. Nor did this satisfy her passion for vengeance; she punished the town of Gloucester by the forfeiture of its charter and civic liberties, because it had belonged to the unfortunate Saxon lord, while she had him conveyed to the city of Winchester, where he died in prison and was privately buried. Another story is related of Matilda's vengeance, which is no way incredible, either as regards the character of the woman, or of the age. It appears that the news reached her in Normandy of certain attentions which her husband was paying in his new kingdom to the beautiful daughter of one of the canons of Canterbury; she therefore caused the young lady to be put to death in a most cruel manner. If this be characteristic of a jealous wife of those days, no less characteristic of an incensed husband; the descendant of the stout Vikings in the eleventh century, was the punishment which William inflicted on his wife on his return to Normandy—"He beat her," relates an old chronicler, "with his bridle so severely, that she died soon after." The dying soon after was a mistake, but the beating is not so improbable; and as in the case of the wooing, so no doubt in this matrimonial quarrel, the dissension was of short duration; for all historians agree that this period of their lives was one of great harmony.

During the invasion of the Danes in England, and the troubles with which King William had to contend, his queen resided in Normandy, where, in her administration as regent, she exhibited great talents, and

in positions of difficulty, great prudence and address. Robert, eldest son of the Conqueror, was, at the age of fourteen, associated with his mother in the regency of Normandy. He had received a promise from his father, when he undertook his expedition against England, that, should he be successful, and obtain the crown of that country, he would bestow on him the Dukedom of Normandy; but when Robert claimed from him the fulfilment of this engagement, the king plainly told him that he must not expect it during his lifetime.

The respect which Robert entertained for his father might have withheld him from rebellion; but the machinations of the king's enemies incited him to take up arms and to enforce his claim at once. In this revolt Robert was supported by the forces of the French, and by the people of Maine who were strongly attached to him, and whom, in right of the little Countess of Maine, now dead, to whom Robert had been espoused while yet a child, they regarded as their rightful lord. He also received secret supplies from his mother, who by her sympathy and affection very naturally sought to compensate for the rigour of his father, and she accordingly furnished him both with money and soldiers. But the Conqueror quickly suppressed this rebellion; and it is remarkable that the hero who had triumphed in England with an army of Normans and foreigners, brought, on this occasion, English forces to recover his dukedom. The meeting of William with his queen under these circumstances has a tragic grandeur in it. He reproached her with sorrowing severity, observing that his great affection had led him to repose unbounded confidence in her, but that she had abused both the one and the other in lavishing his money on his enemies. In defence, Matilda urged the strong affection of a mother for her first-born child, and added, "If Robert were in his grave, and could be recovered by my blood, I would pour it out to restore him. How can I enjoy my prosperity, and suffer my son to be pining in want? Far from my heart be such cruelty, nor should your power exact it." The king was touched by this effusion of maternal tenderness, and contented himself with punishing those who had had the hardihood to be the bearers of his wife's presents to his son. One of these he ordered to be treated with great rigour, and to have his eyes put out; but, fortunately for the culprit, he eluded the sentence by flight.

William's affection for his wife suffered no diminution; and even Robert—who, in this unnatural combat, found himself on one occasion personally opposed to his father, whom, not recognising at the time, he

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unhorsed, and even pierced with a lance—obtained his forgiveness on the expression of sincere contrition. Spite of his contrition, however, his father had not sufficient confidence in him to leave him in Normandy; therefore, not only to prevent the recurrence of further rebellion, but to remove him from the influence of his mother, he took him with himself into England, on pretence of employing him against the King of Scotland.

Whilst William regarded his son with a jealous eye, Robert complained that his services were not repaid by affection; and at length, wounded by his father's coldness and suspicions, and envious of the estimation in which his younger brother was held, Robert fled from England, and, after travelling throughout Europe, fixed his residence at the French court. The tidings of these new dissensions between her beloved husband and favourite son, caused the most poignant grief to the queen, whose heart was just then wrung by the death of her daughter Constance, Duchess of Bretagne, to whom she was tenderly attached. Again she endeavoured to obtain a reconciliation, but this time without effect. Her distress of mind was also greatly increased by the answer which she received from a German hermit and soothsayer, to whom she had applied on the painful disunion of her husband and son. The answer, which was but a prediction of increasing sorrow and misery, so affected the queen, that she sank into a lingering illness, which ended in her death.

On the first tidings of her sickness, the king hastened to Normandy, and arrived in time to see her expire, on the 2nd of November, 1084, in the seventeenth year of the Conqueror's reign. The death of Matilda caused the sincerest grief to her husband; he wept bitterly, and even renounced his favourite amusement of hunting. He had, in fact, ever evinced towards her the sincerity of friendship as well as the most devoted affection. The old chronicles assure us that "the counsels of Matilda more than once tempered the harsh and cruel disposition of the Conqueror towards his English subjects, and inclined him to clemency; but that after her death William gave himself up wholly to his tyrannical temper." The four years which he survived her were to him years of trouble and anxiety.

Notwithstanding the occasional causes of displeasure which the queen gave her husband, she enjoyed a state of much conjugal felicity with him during thirty-three years, and brought him four sons and five daughters. Of the former, Richard died during his father's lifetime, Robert was Duke of Normandy, and William Rufus and



MATILDA OF SCOTLAND,

QUEEN OF HENRY THE FIRST

At the beginning of the reign of William, England's first Norman ruler, a royal Saxon mother, with her three fatherless children, took ship secretly and fled from the Conqueror's court. She was Agatha, daughter of the Emperor Henry the Second of Germany, and widow of Edward Atheling. The royal lineage of her children made them obnoxious to the stern Norman usurper, who bore no good-will to any descendants of the Saxon Alfred, to whose memory and posterity the conquered nation still fondly clung. Therefore, the royal Agatha thought it best not to trust to William's specious promises, but to take refuge with her own kindred in Hungary, carrying with her her son Edgar Atheling, and her two daughters, Margaret and Christina.

But scarcely had the vessel entered on her course when a storm arose, and instead of crossing the narrow straits to the continent, she drifted northward for many weary days, until at last, being driven to the coast of Scotland, she cast anchor in the Firth of Forth. The King of Scotland was then young Malcolm Canmore—Shakspeare's Malcolm—son of that "gentle Duncan" so treacherously murdered by Macbeth. He had just recovered his throne, and seen the fearful end of the regicide usurper and tyrant, who had made

"Good men's wives
To perish with the flowers in their caps,
Dying ere they sicken;"

and was striving, with the generous and kindly heart with which history shows him gifted, to restore peace to his ravaged land. The young king heard of the royal Saxon pilgrims who had been driven on his coasts, and touched, doubtless, by the memory of kindness shown to himself when he had fled an exile from his throne and country to England, visited Agatha, and showed every attention and respect to her who had been once a queen, and to her children. Margaret, the

eldest of the two young princesses, was a beautiful girl, in the first dawn of womanhood, with soft blue eyes, and long silken, fair hair—hair celebrated seven hundred years after Margaret had lived, reigned, and died. Young Malcolm saw, loved, and wooed her, and the fugitive Agatha joyfully consented to a marriage which made her daughter Queen of Scotland, and united the fallen fortunes of her house to one not less royal or noble, and worthy of alliance with the child of Edward Atheling. So the young Scottish monarch won the bride which fortune and those seemingly adverse winds had cast upon his shores; and the place where fair Margaret first set her foot on Scottish ground is called "Queen's Ferry" to this day.

The union thus suddenly formed, as it were by the hand of destiny, proved most happy. Margaret brought to the half-civilised Scottish court the Anglo-Saxon refinement which had been first taught by Alfred the Great, and had gathered strength from the time of those palmy days until the rude Norman barons came and destroyed all. We may judge of the intellectual condition of Malcolm's court from the fact that the young king himself could neither read nor write, and that the sole amusement of the nobility consisted in hunting, fighting, and feasting. No very refined society was this for the widow of Edward Atheling; but the gentle Margaret loved her young husband, as indeed she was bound to do, in return for the disinterested affection which had made him choose her, an exiled and disinherited princess, to be Queen of Scotland. *By the influence of love she exercised the strongest sway over Malcolm; to a meek spirit she united a firm and clear judgment and a pious mind.* All these qualities won her the highest respect from her rude but generous-hearted lord, and her influence over him lasted to the end of his life.

In good time the young queen of Scotland became a mother. Her first child, a daughter, was born in the year 1077, and to her Margaret gave the sweet Saxon name of Editha; but circumstances occurred which changed the appellation of the little maiden to one better known in history. Thus it happened. Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, was leading his father's troops against Malcolm of Scotland, the two countries being then at war. Soon after the birth of the little princess peace was concluded; and, to ratify the treaty by an interchange of friendly intercourse, Malcolm invited Robert to officiate as sponsor to this, his first child. Prince Robert, therefore, visited Scotland and saw his young god-daughter baptised; and, out of compliment to him, Editha was changed to *Matilda*, the name

and who was a frequent guest at Malcolm's court. Alan had previously married Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror, who died in the bloom of womanhood. He was a man of mature years, and not very well suited to the fair young princess of Scotland. Matilda rejected him in a manner which showed her gentleness and good sense even at the dawn of life.

The residence of Edgar Atheling at the English court, and the friendly ties which ought to have connected the two countries, did not prevent various wars between England and Scotland. Malcolm, in 1093, left Scotland, heedless even of the failing health of his beloved Margaret, and, burning with indignation at some fancied wrong, entered England, determined to carry fire and sword into the hills and valleys of fair Northumberland.

The chieftain king of Scotland was triumphant to his heart's desire. He laid waste wherever he came, and at last besieged the castle of Alnwick, the chief stronghold of the English power. The governor of the fortress sent a messenger to his formidable opponent, offering to give up Alnwick to Malcolm's conquering power, provided that the king would receive the keys with his own hand. Malcolm consented, and a knight rode forward from the besieged castle, bearing the keys on the point of his lance. Eager to seize the tokens of his victory, the king stooped to receive the keys, and his wily adversary pierced the spear through the eye of the unfortunate monarch into his very brain. Malcolm lingered during a few hours of terrible agony, and then died.

While this horrible tragedy took place at Alnwick, Queen Margaret lay dying in her palace at Dunfermline; her last moments being agonised by anxiety for her absent lord, and her son, Prince Edward, who, young as he was, had accompanied his father to the field. Not even the religious consolations of the good Turgot, nor the affectionate care of her two daughters and her son Edgar, could win the thoughts of the dying wife and mother from those beloved absent ones. It was many days before the tidings of Malcolm's horrible death could reach Dunfermline. When they did, Margaret was in the agonies of death. Prince Edgar received the messenger, and then returned to his mother's couch.

"How fares it with the king and my Edward?" faintly asked the dying queen; but her son made no reply. "I know all," added Margaret, "and I conjure you by this holy cross to tell me the worst."

"Both are dead," said the young prince, mournfully. His mother's

destiny that lay at her very feet, or give the lie to her nearest relation, a woman whom all regarded with the respect due to her ancestry and office, if not exacted by her character. Well might the royal maiden tremble and shrink when she stood before the priestly conclave. But the spirit of her fearless Scottish ancestors was within her, and Matilda gave her answers with firmness and dignity, befitting her womanly nature no less than her exalted rank.

The first question was asked by Anselm—it was the plain straightforward inquiry, whether she were a nun or not. Matilda replied, decisively and without hesitation, "No!" This explicit denial was not sufficient to satisfy the priests, and some of them, with a pertinacity that seemed very like insult, after her declaration, inquired whether she had taken the veil by the enforcement of her parents, or by her own free will

"By neither!—since I have not taken it at all," answered the princess.

Again she was questioned as to whether she had not worn the black veil of a nun both in Scotland and at Romsey. This fact Matilda neither could nor would deny, but with a *naïve* simplicity that shows how completely the recluse of Romsey had preserved her girlish feelings, she told the story of her aunt Christina having sent her into King Malcolm's presence wearing a veil, and his great anger; and how the abbess had forced her to assume a nun's garb at Rumsey, her hatred to the costume, and her petulant tearing it off on every possible occasion. The will of the king, the plain statement of the young princess, and the voice of the nation in general—all declared for Matilda. She was pronounced free from all convent-vows, and besought by king, nobles, and people, to wed Henry, and become Queen of England

How Christina bore this mortification, history sayeth not. Both her young novices had fled; for Mary, equally glad to escape from her aunt's stern rule, quitted the convent with Matilda, and soon after became a bride. The marriage of the royal lovers took place at Westminster, on St. Martin's day, November 11th, 1100. William of Malmesbury, the quaint chronicler of the time, relates the circumstances with great exactness. It must have been one of the strangest weddings that ever took place in those old walls, which have witnessed the bridals of so many English rulers. Previous to the ceremony, Archbishop Anselm—who seems throughout to have been a friend and confidant of Henry, and who was probably himself of

Saxon blood—mounted the pulpit, and there, in a long discourse, more suited to the legal precincts of the neighbouring hall than to the old abbey and the assembled marriage guests, told the whole proceedings of the synod, and its final opinion that Matilda was free to wed. He ended by an impassioned call on the people to confirm this decree, and was answered by an enthusiastic shout—"Long live Queen Matilda!" after which the good Anselm descended from his rostrum, and joined the hands of King Henry and his bride. Thus, to the great joy of the whole nation, the two royal lines, Saxon and Norman, were united, and the rights of the after-sovereigns made sure.

Matilda, the Queen of England, is a character who shines with as bright a lustre as Matilda the gentle princess in the nunnery of Romsey. Her piety, her conjugal virtues, and her generous spirit, were worthy of the daughter of Margaret Atheling. She resided chiefly at the palace of Westminster, and from thence she dispensed her good deeds, and proved that the English had done wisely in wishing for a Saxon queen. Her influence with Henry confirmed him in all his good intentions with regard to his Saxon subjects, and they now enjoyed favours and privileges such as they had not had since William of Normandy set his foot on English shores. This excited the ire of the proud Norman barons, who during the two preceding reigns had grown fat with plunder, and had ravaged and seized upon the broad lands of the conquered at their will. Now, the Saxon nobles were of equal importance in the state with themselves, and the foreign lords no longer held supreme sway in the court at Westminster.

The Normans tried every means to separate Henry from his Saxon wife; but the wedded love between the young pair resisted all wily snares, and at last the barons tried outward aggression to drive Henry from the throne. They urged Robert of Normandy to come over and claim his father's crown; and the prince, who seems to have had a tolerable share of the Conqueror's warlike and grasping nature, readily consented. He landed at Portsmouth, with all the troops that his own small dominions could muster, and immediately the Anglo-Norman barons flocked to his standard. Robert might probably have soon become King of England, but for a fatality which shows how in this world small things often influence great events.

Queen Matilda chanced to be at Winchester at the very time of Robert's assault on the place. They brought news to the besieger that a mother's pains had come upon her, and that her first-born child had just seen the light. No sooner did the generous-hearted Robert hear

these tidings of his god-daughter and favourite, than he remembered no longer she was the wife of the brother whom he sought to dethrone; he withdrew his troops from Winchester, saying that "no man could ever besiege a woman at such a time."

By this delay Robert lost his advantage; for it gave Henry time to collect his devoted Saxon adherents, and make ready to defend his throne. But ere the brothers came to open war, there rose up a gentle mediator between them. This was no other than Matilda the queen. Touched by the personal kindness of her brother-in-law, she strove with all her power to soften Henry's anger, and the husband could not resist her influence. Perhaps Henry felt more kindly disposed towards Robert, when he looked at his eldest-born, Prince William, and remembered what a generous action had prevented the child's birth being surrounded by the horrors of war. Matilda then tried her power with her godfather, and with equal success. Robert was of a temper the very reverse of persevering, and was easily persuaded to relinquish his claim; Henry agreeing to pay him a sum of money yearly out of the royal treasury, provided that neither he nor his son William ever asserted the right of the elder line to the English crown.

To confirm this amicable treaty, Henry invited his brother to his court, and Robert came. Six months were spent in gaiety and feasting; never had there been such merry times in England; the land was at peace; there were no wars without, and no internal commotions; the reigning king and queen were undisturbed in their united rights, and they were equally united in their domestic affection. The country prospered, and the conflicting races of Saxons and Normans began to intermingle. Henry, by the choice of a good queen, had done more to secure his power than if he had gone through the kingdom with an army of warriors.

Matilda's domestic life was one of extreme piety; in these days we should have called her a devotee, but still in the world's youth much outward show was needed and displayed; and Matilda was probably truly sincere in her self-imposed devotional exercises; such as making pilgrimages, barefooted, to the Abbey of Westminster, and washing and kissing the feet of the poor, duties we should now consider very unnecessary, and quite unbefitting a royal lady. Yet Matilda's simple-minded subjects loved her the more for this voluntary humility, and each day gave her firmer hold on their hearts.

But Matilda's exertions for the good of her people were not confined to these religious observances. She tried in every way to

improve the condition of the country, by causing roads to be made where before were wild heaths and forests. Thus commerce was facilitated, and a general amelioration in society effected. In the nineteenth century, when hedged roads intersect the land from end to end, and railways cut across the most solitary places, we can hardly imagine such a state of things as existed in the time of which we write, when there was hardly a road, except the four Roman ones, of which traces still remain, and when not a bridge yet spanned our rivers and streams. The first bridge that ever was built we owe to Matilda. It still stretches its one arch over the river Lea, at Stratford-le-Bow, to commemorate the place where its royal founder had once nearly met her death by a sudden flood.

Several hospitals, particularly St. Giles in the Fields, and Christ Church, where Duke's Place now is, and several charitable communities owe their foundation to Matilda ; indeed, she seems to have done more real good to the nation than many of the kings who preceded and followed her. To be able to effect this, she must have possessed more power in the government than is generally the prerogative of a queen-consort ; but Henry doubtless remembered that she had at least an equal right to the throne with himself. Still Matilda had need of all her woman's tact and gentleness to preserve the line between a queen exercising the power which was her right, and a wife owing all to her husband, and acknowledging with the willingness of love his superior rule.

Hardly a year had passed since Robert of Normandy returned home, when Matilda was again called to act as peacemaker between him and her husband, and again she was successful. But here she is charged by historians with wily conduct, that seems at variance with her high character ; she is alleged to have used her influence with her godfather to persuade him to relinquish the pension from the English crown, which Robert claimed as a right, and Henry tardily bestowed. However this may be, Matilda succeeded in making peace between the brothers ; but it was on a false foundation, and when the difference once more broke out, it was healed no more.

Henry at this time forgot the generally mild tenor of his government, and, against Matilda's will, used harsh treatment towards one who ought to have received the deepest gratitude from both—Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. The prelate either fled the kingdom or was banished ; and Henry was long inexorable to his queen's entreaties, that one who had been so instrumental in procuring their wedded

happiness should be recalled. At last, Matilda's arguments, joined to those of Adela of Blois, Henry's favourite sister, produced their effect, and Anselm was recalled. Matilda joyfully received the aged and infirm prelate, having sent her own attendants to convey him by easy stages from the coast to London; but Anselm was hardly reinstated in his power when he issued harsh edicts, which carried sorrow over the land.

He proceeded to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and to excommunicate all those who resisted his command; and Matilda found herself powerless to check the misery which resulted.

Matilda had now two sons, William and Richard, and a daughter, who was first called Alice, and then bore the beloved name of her mother, Matilda. This princess was afterwards the Empress Matilda, or Maude, of Germany, mother of Henry the Second, in whom was continued the royal Saxon line. Richard died young; and William was the unfortunate prince who perished in the White Ship, a martyr to fraternal love. But no shadows of these coming sorrows rested upon Matilda's young children then; and her domestic life was supremely happy. She was a devoted mother; her sons were instructed in all the learning of the day, and her only daughter was placed, as were the noble maidens of the time, in a royal convent for her education. As Matilda chose the same in which her own early years had been spent, the Abbess Christina was probably either dead or else now at peace with her royal niece; and the queen had little fear of the same harsh rule being exercised towards her daughter as towards herself.

After a short space of quiet, war broke out between Henry and his brother, but it was for the last time. A short but fearful struggle terminated by a battle fought in Normandy, which decided the fate of the unfortunate Robert. He was taken prisoner, with his only son William, and Edgar Atheling, who had clung to his friend of old time even though his faithfulness involved a contest with his own niece and her husband. Matilda entreated for her uncle; and Henry, either touched by her prayers, or else thinking the weak but good-natured Edgar no dangerous foe, released the Saxon prince, and also freed young William of Normandy. But Duke Robert, whose restless and continual disputings excited the deepest hatred in his brother's heart, was sent to Cardiff Castle; first as a sort of honourable captive, then as a prisoner of state, who was treated with the utmost rigour. At last, when there was no Matilda to plead for him, Robert perished by a violent and horrible death; and even the suspicion that his brother was cognizant of the crime, casts a fearful shadow on the reign of Henry Beauclerc.

When the royal prisoner was thus safe, there was peace for a long time in England. Henry and his queen pursued their efforts for the benefit of the country, and made progresses, with their children and suite, from province to province, visiting different noblemen, like our own Victoria, of whom, in her domestic character and relations, Matilda was the prototype. The palace at Windsor was erected by Henry, and first made a royal residence by his queen. Woodstock is also owing to them ; for Henry enclosed it as a sort of rude zoological gardens, where he might indulge the royal hobby of keeping strange animals. So great was Henry's love of natural history, that he used to beg lions, tigers, and wolves of his brother kings, with which inestimable presents he enriched his ménagerie.

The two surviving children of Henry and Matilda were betrothed when almost in infancy : the princess to the Emperor of Germany, and Prince William to Alice of Anjou, whom he wedded only a few months before the fatal wreck of the Blanchenef made her a widow, faithful to his memory until death. William and his sister were both promising children, though even in youth Matilda showed the germ of that haughty spirit through which she afterwards lost the English crown.

During the years which had elapsed since Henry ascended the throne, he had been fortunate in domestic life, and prosperous in his kingdom. His people loved him much, and he fulfilled the promises which he had made on his accession. On every occasion he showed respect to the laws and customs of the race from whence his queen had sprung ; and the enthusiastic loyalty of the Saxons was raised to the highest pitch when Henry and Matilda personally attended the removal of the bones of the beloved Alfred and his queen from their lowly tomb near Winchester, to Hyde Abbey, founded and endowed by them as a fitting resting-place for that truly noble king. The ceremony was conducted with great pomp and royal state, and was a just tribute of respect to the remains of one of England's greatest monarchs.

Henry and Matilda passed the Christmas of 1115 together at the Abbey of St. Alban's, where a portrait of the queen was painted, of which a copy still exists in the Golden Book of St. Alban's, now in the British Museum, which confirms the reputation of Matilda for a mild and amiable beauty. Besides this portrait, there is also a statue of this excellent queen in the Cathedral of Rochester, forming the pilaster of the western door ; one of the king forming the other.

The latter years of Matilda's life were far from peaceful. The

of marrying the royal pair. At length the dispute was decided by an ecclesiastical council in favour of the archbishop, who was a very aged man, Henry endeavouring to console his favourite, the Bishop of Salisbury, by appointing him to perform the ceremonial of the coronation on the following day, at Westminster. Scarcely, however, was the ceremony completed, when the archbishop appeared, and demanded of the king, "who had put the crown on his head?" and receiving an evasive reply, smote him a blow with his crozier which struck off the crown, after which he replaced it with his own hand, and then proceeded to crown the queen. This coronation took place on Sunday, the 30th of January, 1121.

The dignity and surpassing loveliness of the queen, who had just attained her eighteenth year, have been recorded by Henry of Huntingdon, an actual witness of the scene, in the following lines :—

"Your Crown and jewels when compared to you,
How poor your Crown, how pale your jewels shew !
Take off your robes, your rich attire remove ;
Such pomp may load you, but can ne'er improve
In vain your costly ornaments are worn,
You they obscure, whilst others they adorn.
Ah ! what new lustre can these trifles give,
Which all their beauty from your charms receive !"

The Bishop of Rennes, also, bore testimony to the unparalleled beauty of the "queen of the Angles," as he styles Adelaïs, of whom he speaks with enthusiasm, dwelling particularly on her winning manners, and her "honey-dropping words."

For some time after her marriage Queen Adelaïs resided at Woodstock, where was the royal ménagerie, of which mention was made in the foregoing life, and to which an aviary was attached. In his taste for natural history Beauclerc found in his second consort an agreeable companion, who participated in his enjoyments, not only taking a lively interest in his love of animals, but also encouraging the writers of the day to diffuse information on this, as well as on other literary subjects. Philip de Thuan dedicated to her his work, called "*Bestiarius*," which was written in the Anglo-Norman tongue ; and he tells us that he "has written an elementary book of animals, for the praise and instruction of a good and beauteous woman, who is crowned Queen of England, and named Alix."¹

The example of the queen stimulated many ladies of the court to patronise literary merit ; among these were the fair Alice de Condé

¹ Alix, in Hebrew, signifies "the praise of God." There are many readings of it, as Alix, Alice, Alicia, Adelin.

and the Lady Constance la Gentil, who courted the Muses. The poem entitled the "Voyage of St Brandon" was composed at the queen's request, and Adelais, anxious to perpetuate the fame of her learned husband, also occupied herself in assisting one of the trouveres of her court, named David, to write his life.

Whilst these pleasing pursuits engaged the attention of Henry and his consort six years passed away, yet Adelais had no children, and great was the disappointment of the king, who, on his return from the Continent, in 1126, brought with him his widowed daughter, the Empress Matilda, whom he caused to be acknowledged as his successor.

For twelve months Matilda was the constant companion of Queen Adelais, when after much domestic discomfort, in which, however, the character of Adelais appears in a very favourable light she was, much against her own will, bestowed by her father in marriage on Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou. Once more the king obliged his nobility to renew their oaths of allegiance to his daughter, but her marriage was far from a happy one, nor was it until six years afterwards that she to the great joy of her father, gave birth to a son, who was destined to be his successor. The name of Henry was bestowed on the infant prince, and the last parliament of Henry I's reign was expressly held in 1133, to secure the crown to his grandson, who was included with his mother, the empress, in the oath of fealty. Shortly afterwards the king embarked for Normandy, where he died in the year 1135, in the castle of Lyons, near Rouen, whence, after his remains were embalmed, they were conveyed to England and interred in Reading Abbey.

Queen Adelais bestowed the manor of Eton, in Hertfordshire, on this abbey, for prayers to be said for the soul of the king, her husband, also the manor of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, and several churches, for the expenses of an anniversary service for the same purpose. She also placed a pill on the altar with her own hand, and a little 100 shillings annually, to provide a lamp to burn for ever before his tomb.

Adais spent part of her widowhood near Wilton, in a house which bears her name, and at the end of a year, repaired to Arundel Castle where she dwelt in regal state. In 1138, three years after the death of the king being then in her thirty second year, she married William de Albini Lord of Buckenham, in Norfolk, a nobleman of high renown, whose father had accompanied the Conqueror into England.

as hereditary cup-bearer of the Norman dukes, which office was confirmed to him and his descendants.

William di Albini obtained the surname of "Strongimanus," or, "Strong Hand," from an incident no less marvellous than interesting; and which, being connected with his love for Adalais, to whom he was at that time affianced, is worthy of being related. It appears that at a tournament held at Bruges, on occasion of the marriage of Louis VII. with Eleanor of Aquitaine, William di Albini having entered the lists, and excelled all his competitors in skill and prowess, the Queen Dowager of France, a very beautiful woman, whose name also was Adalais, fell in love with him. After the tournament, therefore, she invited him to a costly banquet, presented him with some rich jewels as a reward of his merit, and then proffered him her hand, which he declined in respectful terms, assigning as a reason that his troth was plighted to Adalais, Queen of England. The queen, little expecting such a reply, resolved to be revenged; and inviting him into a garden, in which was a lion contained in a secret cave, she led him thither, conversing as they went on the fierceness of the animal, to which Albini replied, with animation, that "fear was not a manly quality, but womanish." Arrived at the lion's den, the queen pushed him in; but he, perceiving his danger, wrapped his mantle round his arm, and thrusting his hand into the lion's mouth, pulled out his tongue, or, as the old chroniclers say, his heart, which on returning to the palace, he sent by one of her maids as a present to the queen.

On arriving in England, rich with the fame not only of this exploit, but of many noble deeds, William di Albini married the beautiful Adalais, and was thus advanced to the Earldom of Arundel. The arms of the lion were given to him, and the white tongueless lion rampant on a red shield is a bearing of the Howards, his descendants, to this day.

After her second marriage, Queen Adalais continued to reside at Arundel Castle. She still maintained a sincere friendship for her daughter-in-law, the empress; and in 1139, on her coming to England, she and her husband received her into their castle of Arundel, and promised her assistance against Stephen. Every respect and attention was shown her by Adalais; and when Stephen approached with his army, she excused herself for receiving the empress, on the plea of friendship, and demanded a safe-conduct for her to Bristol, declaring that, in the event of a refusal, she would defend her castle to the last extremity. Stephen granted her request, and raised the siege.

Adelais had four sons by her second husband, William, Reyner, Godfrey, and Henry; and three daughters, Alice, Olive, and Agatha.

Many little memorials of this queen are still extant in the vicinity of Arundel Castle. In the parish of Lyminster she founded a convent for nuns according to the canons of St. Augustine; and contributed largely to the building of Chichester Cathedral.

Queen Adelais was forty-eight years of age when she died, in 1151. Sanderus relates that this event took place in the monastery of Affligham, near Alost, in Flanders, and that she was interred there; yet we are more inclined to the opinion of other writers, who assure us that this queen died in England; and was buried by the earl, her husband, with customary honours in St. John's Chapel, Boxgrove, where the remains of some of her children had been laid. But let her remains rest where they may, she was, during life, a friend to the poor, the orphan, and the unfortunate; a model of piety and goodness, blending humility with majesty.

MATILDA "THE EMPRESS."

MATILDA (or Maude), the only daughter of Henry the First and of Matilda "the Good," was born at the royal city of Winchester, in 1102. The name of Adela, by which she is distinguished in the Saxon annals, was probably given her at the font, but she is generally known by that of Matilda, or Maude. The blood of the Norman and Saxon kings was blended in her veins, yet while she inherited her father's talents, she failed to exhibit the more resplendent virtues of her mother, from whom she was alienated at an early age, and like a tender plant transferred to a foreign and ungenial soil.

Matilda, "the Empress," was destined to be great, but happiness hardly seemed to come within the sphere of her fortunes, yet she enjoyed the highest imperial rule and honours ever shared by woman, and was the foundress of a new dynasty in England, under which this country was raised to its highest pitch of martial glory.

The eventful history of this princess may be said to have commenced with her cradle. It was at the time of her birth, that Duke Robert of Normandy, as already observed, landing to assert his claims to the crown, and hearing of the queen's accouchement, with the gallantry peculiar to him, withdrew from before the city of Winchester, leaving the good queen and her newly born infant in peace.

Scarcely had the little princess commenced her education with her brother, Prince William, under the care of the learned Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom they had been entrusted by their mother, when an embassy arrived from Henry the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, to demand the hand of the young princess in marriage. Her father joyfully accepted these proposals, and the nuptials were celebrated, by proxy, in the year 1109, when Matilda had but just attained her seventh year. King Henry made every preparation to dismiss his daughter to her affianced husband in a truly regal style,

and for this purpose levied the enormous tax of three shillings upon every hide of land in England; a custom before unknown, but which afforded a precedent to succeeding monarchs. The following year the little Matilda, all resplendent with jewels, and richly endowed with bridal gifts, set off for Germany; her dower of ten thousand marks of silver being committed to the care of the trusty knight, Roger Fitz-Richard, who, with a princely retinue, attended the infant bride on her progress towards the land destined to be her future home.

Her reception was magnificent. The emperor met her at Utrecht, a prince old enough to have been her father, but age was of no consequence in a match of policy, and in the following Easter the royal betrothal took place. Matilda was afterwards solemnly crowned at Mayence; upon which occasion, in presence of all the nobility of the empire, the Archbishop of Trèves held the royal child in his arms, while the Archbishop of Cologne encircled her brow with the imperial diadem.

The English retinue of Matilda was then dismissed by the emperor, who desired that his future partner should continue her education in conformity with the habits and manners of the Germans, and with the knowledge of their language: he gave, therefore, the necessary directions for her studies, appointed her a magnificent dower, and arranged her household on a scale suitable to her imperial dignity. But young as she then was, Matilda probably yearned for the scenes she had left, for her playmate, Prince William, whom she was destined never more to behold, and greatly must she have felt the estrangement from her tender mother, and from that pious preceptor who had taught her infant mind. To this isolation, at so early an age, from home and kindred, may possibly be traced many of the faults which became conspicuous in her after-life.

One prelate only of all her numerous train, Henry, Archdeacon of Winchester, was permitted to continue at the German court; and her affectionate regard for him was testified some years after, when she obtained for him, from her husband, a grant of the Bishopric of Verdun.

In 1114, the emperor considering that the education of Matilda was completed, assembled a splendid court at Mayence, where the royal nuptials were celebrated upon the 7th of January; and the young empress was a second time crowned, after which she took up her abode with her husband.

It has been supposed that, when Henry the Fifth was crowned,

in 1111, at St. Peter's, his betrothed bride shared in that solemnity ; but it does not seem likely that she should have been withdrawn from her studies for that purpose, especially as she was not married to him until three years later.

Henry's character was but little calculated to win the love of a young girl like Matilda ; nor could his example have been very beneficial. He had been engaged in an unnatural contest with his own father, whom he compelled to abdicate, and then cast into prison ; and when this unhappy monarch died of grief at Liège, his remains were exposed to indignity by his unfeeling son. After such conduct towards his father, it could hardly be expected that Henry would prove a good husband, yet it does not appear that the youthful bride had any cause of complaint against him ; he treated her with the utmost indulgence, and her youth and beauty won for her the hearts of the German people.

Brief traces of Matilda's career in Germany have been handed down to us. Her marriage was solemnised a second time in the year 1115, and a second time she and the emperor were crowned with great pomp in the cathedral of Mayence. A third time also were they crowned, and that by the Pontiff himself in St. Peter's at Rome, whither the young empress had accompanied her husband. Whilst here she had the satisfaction of meeting Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, by the emperor's desire, paid her a visit of more than a week.

During her husband's absence from Germany, Matilda maintained a sort of power over the affairs of the Church, of which one instance may be cited in the appeal of Witto, a monk, when she called a Council of the clergy and nobles, November 4, 1118, and in their presence forbade any person, under severe penalties, to disturb Witto again in his monastery, deputing Earl Boniface to reconcile the contending parties.

The excommunication of Henry caused many of his nobles to absent themselves from his court when, in 1119, he returned to spend his Christmas at Worms ; but, in a grand Council afterwards held in that city, the sentence was repealed, to the great joy of the nation.

During the interval of peace which succeeded, Matilda founded and endowed two Benedictine monasteries ; in which pious work she was assisted by Gonbold, Bishop of Utrecht, and two knights of her household.

Remorse for his parricidal crime, the horrors of civil war, and his own declining health, had now completely broken the spirit of Henry

the Fifth, and on July 1st, 1125, he expired at Utrecht, whither he had been accompanied by the empress. During his illness he was constantly attended by Matilda, and also by several nobles to one of whom, Duke Frederic of Swabia, he committed the care of the empress, and of the imperial insignia, until the election of his successor.

A strange tale was afterwards circulated and believed, that the emperor one night, the lights being extinguished and the attendants away, had risen from his bed, and, clothing himself in coarse woollen garments, had gone forth barefoot and alone from the palace, and had never been seen more. Again, it was said, that he had become a monk, and ended his days at Angers as a servant in an hospital, and to add still more charms to the romantic tale, it was believed that this being made known to Matilda some years after her second marriage, she had hastened to him, attended him on his death-bed, and acknowledged him as her first husband.

The Empress Matilda was only in her twenty-first year when her husband died and having left no children, he was succeeded in the imperial throne by his nephew Lotharius. Her father, therefore, the King of England, having lost his son in the fatal White Ship, and having now no hope of male issue by his second wife, resolved to recall the widowed empress and declare her his successor.

Matilda did not quit without reluctance a land in which she had been a resident during fifteen years, whose manners and habits she had adopted, and where she was much beloved. Besides, Henry the Fifth had left her a rich dower, and this she must forego in returning to her native country. She complied, however, with her father's wish, and attended not only by a splendid train which he had deputed to escort her, but also by a retinue of German princes and nobles, some of whom were aspirants for her hand, joined him and her stepmother in Normandy.

Henry lost no time in convincing the German visitors that he had no intention of parting again from his only surviving child, upon which they returned to their homes, while he proceeded to England with Matilda, and his consort the young and beautiful Adela. Matilda now for the first time in her life enjoyed the happiness of a female friend, and contracted an intimacy with her good and amiable step mother, which terminated only with their lives.

Upon his arrival in England, King Henry assembled all his nobles and barons, both Norman and English, at Windsor Castle, and there, in the presence of David, King of Scotland, presented his daughter

to them, calling upon them to take their oaths of allegiance to her as his successor to the throne. It was not, however, without some difficulty that he effected this, for the Normans were unaccustomed to the sovereignty of a woman ; but the eloquence of Henry prevailed, their homage was paid, and duly recorded in a deed signed and sealed, which King David afterwards bore away with him into Scotland ; and, with the true zeal of a northern relative, this monarch often, during the subsequent wars, interposed in support of the claims he had seen so firmly ratified.

A brief period of repose was at this time enjoyed by the empress, who dwelt as much as possible in retirement, and in the chamber of Queen Adelais, yet we find her name with that of the king and queen in a state document, which proves that she removed with the court from London to Woodstock, and thence to Winchester.

Before the expiration of a year, King Henry offered the hand of his daughter to Geoffrey, the son of the Earl of Anjou, whose alliance he sought from political motives. But what were Matilda's sentiments ? It ill consorted with her proud spirit to descend from the imperial dignity to the rank of a simple Countess of Anjou ; and she who had been accustomed to look up to a husband of graver years, could not stoop to a mere boy of fifteen, for such was Geoffrey of Anjou. Besides which, although in her first union love could have had no share, her heart was now capable of the tender sentiment, and it had been deeply impressed by the noble form and manly attractions of her cousin Stephen of Blois, although he was then married, and that to one of the most deserving of her sex. Matilda, however, was allowed to have no choice ; her father had betrothed her at five years of age to a man of five-and-forty ; and now, at three-and-twenty, she must again take the husband of his choice.

King Henry fixed that the nuptials of his daughter should take place at Mons, in Anjou, where Foulk, the father of the bridegroom, awaited the bridal train. The marriage was solemnized in the church of St. Julian, at Whitsuntide, in the year 1128, in the presence of the king, and many prelates and barons ; yet the English monarch had conducted this affair with so much secrecy, that even his own council were unacquainted with it, and expressed their displeasure in not having been consulted. It has been said that Henry used some compulsion towards his daughter to effect this union, and Matilda's behaviour would confirm this opinion, for she looked with disdain upon her husband, and he was not slow to resent it.

As might be expected, this marriage was one of great unhappiness; and after a long sickness, in which Matilda was separated from her husband, she paid a visit to England, where her father, in a parliament at Northampton, again caused her to receive the homago of the nobles. Two years later, when Matilda gave birth to a son, who was named Henry, the king, for the third time, called upon his nobility to swear allegiance to her, associating now with her name that of her son. In the two succeeding years she became also the mother of two other sons.

Upon his death-bed, Henry bequeathed all his dominions to his daughter; but Matilda was at this time in Anjou with her husband, and before she could take any steps to secure her inheritance, her cousin Stephen, Earl of Blois, hastily returning to England, seized the crown by means of certain false representations, in which he was supported by Hugh Bigod, steward of the king's household; and having gained the suffrages of the clergy, procured himself, through their aid, to be crowned king on the 22nd of December, 1135.

Thus were the claims of Matilda set aside under the plea that her marriage was against the will of the barons, and that a female sovereignty was contrary to the customs of the English. The extraordinary precautions of Henry to secure the crown to his daughter were rendered abortive, and within twenty-four days after the death of her father, Matilda beheld herself set aside from the succession by the very individuals who had thrice solemnly sworn to receive her as their queen. Stephen's perjury and ingratitude appear the more glaring, for he was indebted to her father for many favours, among others that of advancing his brother Henry to the see of Winchester; and while professing attachment to the king, and zealously supporting Matilda's claims, he had been ingratiating himself with the people merely for his own advancement.

The tranquillity with which the reign of Stephen commenced was but of short duration. After the first burst of popular feeling had subsided, various efforts were made by the friends of the empress to assert her just claims. Twice did the King of Scotland advance from the Border in support of his niece, and twice was he repulsed by the arms of Stephen. In Wales, also, was the cause of Stephen triumphant. Neither in Normandy, where Matilda had long resided, had she been able either to overcome the repugnance of the people to a female sovereign, nor yet to gain their affections. On the death of King Henry, they had invited Theobald, the brother of Stephen, to occupy the dukedom.

* The following year commenced a new era in the life of Matilda. A staunch advocate and sincere friend appeared to assert her rights, in the person of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of King Henry, who had rendered only a conditional homage to Stephen, and whose talents and firmness made him an object of dread to this monarch.

Having preconcerted his plans with the empress, he openly espoused her cause, renounced his allegiance to Stephen, and soon obtained a strong party in Normandy, while in England a still stronger one awaited to join him upon his arrival. The empress, attended by her gallant brother and a train of only one hundred and forty knights, sailed to Portsmouth, and here Earl Robert, supposing Matilda to be in safety, secretly marched off with twelve knights to Bristol, in order to organise his forces. Matilda advanced to Arundel, as has already been mentioned in the life of her step-mother, Adelais of Louvaine, where she was received by her and William di Albini, and whence she removed to Bristol, a safe convoy having been granted her by Stephen, on the remonstrance of her relations. From Bristol she removed to Gloucester, her party daily gaining ground, and many, both of the clergy and nobility, joining her. The civil war quickly spread throughout the country, each city, and each individual, taking part with Matilda, or Stephen, until in the desperate strife the barons began to burn and pillage the houses of their vassals; and such, in short, became the general consternation, that when the inhabitants of a city or town perceived a few horsemen at a distance, they immediately took to flight; Matilda and Stephen being equally afraid to restrain these disorders, lest they should diminish the number of their adherents.

In 1141, a battle was fought at Lincoln, in which Stephen was defeated and taken prisoner. The Earl of Gloucester treated his captive with kindness, but sent him to Matilda, who by the advice of her Council confined him in Bristol Castle, and loaded him with chains. The barons now unanimously declared for the empress, except in the county of Kent, and in London, where Matilda, the wife of Stephen, supported by her son Eustace, and William d'Ypres, maintained his cause. The news of Stephen's defeat also enabled the Earl of Anjou, without much difficulty, to prevail upon the Normans to acknowledge Matilda for their queen.

The next step of the empress was to gain over Stephen's brother, the Bishop of Winchester, which she effected by promising him the

disposal of all church preferment By him Matilda was put in immediate possession of Winchester Castle, with the royal treasure, including the sceptre and crown Possessed of these ensigns of royalty, she caused herself to be proclaimed queen, and was led in procession to the cathedral by the bishop, who, as the pope's legate, walked on her right hand, while the Bishop of St David's as Primate of Wales, attended on her left, the Bishops of Ely and Bath, and many temporal barons, following The legate then proceeded to absolve the friends of Matilda and to excommunicate her enemies, and when deputies arrived to petition for the liberation of Stephen, it was refused by this prelate

Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, next swore allegiance to Matilda She now advanced to Wilton Reading and Oxford, and received at the latter place the keys of the city and the homage of the people London at last declared for her, and she entered with great magnificence All opposition was now at an end Preparations were commenced for her coronation, and she took up her residence at the palace of Westminster

But the empress elated with her prosperity, laid the foundations of her own downfall she treated those who had been her enemies with disdain and insolence, displeased the clergy, and offended her friends by her haughtiness, and by the rudeness with which she refused their requests She seemed to think the English a subdued nation upon whom she might trample at pleasure Vain of her own opinion, she even slighted the advice of her uncle, David King of Scotland, who came to visit her, and that of her brother, to whom she owed her present success

When Matilda, the wife of Stephen, wrote to her interceding for her husband's freedom, and engaging that he should renounce his pretensions to the crown, depart the kingdom, and pass the remainder of his life in a monastery, the new queen disdainfully rejected these proposals, and forbade the unhappy wife to make further application Thus did the empress create enemies, amongst the bitterest of whom was now the Bishop of Winchester, who became as earnest in levelling her fortunes as he had formerly been anxious to exalt them

The citizens of London finding that their queen not only refused to mitigate the severity of the Norman laws, but made heavy exactions, implored her to moderate her demands But she replied in a transport of rage, with her eyes sparkling, and her brows knit, "I under-

stand you, you have given all to my enemy, to make him strong against me, you have conspired for my ruin yet you expect that I shall spare you!" This greatly exasperated them, and new plots were formed against her, to escape which she hastily fled from the city and took the road to Oxford, her brother and a small party accompanying her

From this time Matilda experienced many reverses. She was pursued from city to city, and only escaped by a thousand manœuvres. At one time she found herself in danger of perishing by famine, unless she surrendered to her rival, Queen Matilda, who was now triumphant. She resolved, therefore, to cut her way through the enemy, and, with a chosen band, amongst whom were her uncle, the King of Scots, and her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, set out from Winchester. She succeeded in reaching Ludgershall, and, disguised in man's apparel, proceeded thence on horseback to Devizes. Beyond this town the road was lined with soldiers, and to elude these, it is said she cruised herself to be carried to Gloucester in a coffin, which escaped their examination. The King of Scotland was also thrice taken prisoner, but, not being recognised, he was redeemed by his friends. The Earl of Gloucester, in his generous efforts to protect his sister, was discovered and captured, which so much affected Matilda that she could scarcely rejoice in her own safety.

The earl endured his captivity with the utmost fortitude, and resisted the threats and persuasions of Stephen's wife, to induce him to desert the fortunes of his sister. At length an exchange of prisoners was proposed, and the earl was liberated for Stephen's ransom. Having regained their freedom, the two leaders prepared to renew hostilities. Matilda consulted her friends, and the Earl of Gloucester was dismissed to procure aid from the Earl of Anjou, but returned with only a few troops, accompanied by Henry, the eldest son of Matilda, then scarcely nine years of age.

In the absence of her faithful adherent, the earl, the empress was exposed to new dangers and hardships. She had retired to Oxford for security, as that city, surrounded by waters and well fortified, was then considered impregnable. Stephen assaulted the town, set fire to it, and confined Matilda in the castle, hoping to get her into his power, but her courage and energy were not easily subdued. At the end of two months, however, and in the commencement of winter, she was reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions, and finding

deposited, agreeably to her wish, in the Abbey of Bec. King Henry erected to her memory a monument covered with plates of silver, which bore a Latin inscription, thus rendered in English :—

"By father much, spouse more, but son *most* blest,
Here Henry's mother, daughter, wife doth rest."

Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, who wrote the life of the empress, after speaking of her as a royal wife, mother, and daughter, says, that "glittering still more by the splendid light of her virtues she surpasses the good fortune both of birth and marriage."

MATILDA OF BOULOGNE,

THE WIFE OF STEPHEN.

THE reign of the usurper Stephen was a period of continual agitation ; his authority, founded only on the right of conquest, was unstable and insecure, and rebellion, strife, and warfare fill the annals of his history. Even his queen, who by her gentleness and virtues gained the love and esteem of all around her, and, like her noble relative and prototype, Matilda, queen of Henry the First, obtained the title of "the Good," found not the peace she so eminently deserved, and enjoyed no permanent conjugal felicity.

The ancestors of Matilda of Boulogne were all illustrious. Eustace of Boulogne, her grandfather, served under William the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings, and his three sons shared the honours of the first Crusade. The conquest of the Holy City was effected under the direction of Godfrey, the eldest, who was regarded as the best soldier, and the most virtuous gentleman of his age. He was chosen King of Jerusalem, and his brother Baldwin succeeded him. Eustace, the third brother, returned to Boulogne, and inherited that earldom. He married Mary, the daughter of Malcolm the Third, King of Scotland, a younger sister of Matilda, queen of Henry the First.

The only offspring of Eustace and Mary was a daughter, Matilda, who, after the death of her father, inherited all his possessions abroad, as well as his rich estates in Essex. The English monarch, desirous of securing so much property in his own family, betrothed the fair Matilda to Stephen, fourth son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, his own favourite nephew, who thus, in right of his wife, became Earl of Boulogne.

Little did Henry foresee that by this act he raised a fearful competitor for the throne in the bosom of his family. After the death of Henry and his sons, we find the two Matildas, sisters' children, and first cousins, opposing each other in civil warfare, in a struggle for regal power.

Very different in character, however, were those two noble princesses. The fierce, unbending, haughty temper of the Norman kings was developed in that of Matilda the empress, while the more gentle and domestic virtues of the Saxon-descended queen won the homage of all without seeming to court it.

Of the mother of Queen Matilda, the Countess of Boulogne, but little is recorded. In the year 1115, after the nuptials of her daughter, she visited England, and while there was suddenly taken ill and died in the Abbey of Bermondsey, to which she had been a great benefactress. The Latin verses on her tomb allude to her painful death, and attest her noble character.

King Henry presented his nephew Stephen, on his marriage, with a fortress in London, called the Tower-Royal, where he resided for some time with his young wife, and during their early union they became much endeared to the Londoners. Matilda, from the universal respect with which her father and uncles were regarded by the Christian world, was thought to have conferred great honour upon her husband by her alliance with the royal blood of England and Scotland, and Stephen, who possessed great talents, a handsome person, and affable manners, while he rejoiced in the affections of his countess, obtained great popularity with the nation. Many instances, however, of Stephen's infidelity have been recorded, which prove that this seemingly happy period had its trials for Matilda, among other rumours of this kind was that of the passion entertained by the haughty empress for her husband, which has been before alluded to. Another grief, too, had Matilda from the loss of her first two children in their infancy. They were both interred in the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate-without, and Matilda afterwards founded and endowed the Church and Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower, in order that prayers should be offered there for their deputed spirits. But these fond maternal regrets were stayed by the stirring events which ensued upon King Henry's death, and in which Matilda was compelled to take an active part.

Stephen had been one of the foremost in the train of nobles who had sworn fealty to the empress, but when her father was no more, he was the first to desert her, and if this princess really indulged a tender passion for him, bitter must have been her punishment in discovering that he aspired to wear her crown, and even to lead the nation against her.

Assisted by his friend, Hugh Bigod, steward of the royal household, Stephen made it appear that Henry had disinherited his daughter, and

Stephen and Matilda celebrated the following Christmas, 1147, at Lincoln, with unusual splendour, on account of the departure of the empress and the restoration of peace.

The public life of Matilda ends here. Her husband was again at liberty, again a king; her son the apparent successor to his dominions. The remainder of her days was devoted to acts of beneficence, so numerous as to obtain for her the enviable title of "the Good." In 1148, she completed her long-cherished plan of building the Hospital and Church of St. Katherine, instituted in memory of her deceased children; and in the same year, jointly with her husband, founded the royal abbey of Feversham, in Kent.

Matilda died of a fever at Hedingham Castle, in Essex, on the 3rd of May, 1151. Her children, besides the two who died in infancy, were, Eustace, and William, Earl of Boulogne, and one daughter, Mary, Abbess of Romsey. She was fortunate in not surviving to behold her posterity deprived of the crown, and her husband consenting to the succession of the son of her rival, the empress.

The loss of his beloved consort, followed soon after by that of his favourite son, Eustace, so deeply affected Stephen, that he survived little more than three years. He was interred in Feversham Abbey, by the side of his wife and son. The following lines were inscribed on the tomb of the queen:—

"The year one thousand one hundred and fifty-one deprived us of Matilda, the happy wife of King Stephen; it saw her death and her monument. She not only worshipped God, but relieved the poor. Angels held out their hands to receive this Queen, for deep was her humility, though great her worth."



ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE,

THE WIFE OF KING HENRY THE SECOND

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE was the eldest daughter of William, tenth Duke of Guienne, and Count of Poitou, and of Alienor or Eleanor, of Châtellerault. When Eleanor was but ten years old, her father died in the Holy Land, and from this circumstance, as well as from being a prince of great piety, he was called by his subjects St William. His father, then living was William, ninth Duke of Aquitaine, the most distinguished of the troubadours, and one of the most elegant scholars of the age.

The father of Eleanor left no son, and she, being the eldest of his two daughters, became heir to the noble possessions of her grandfather, consisting of Guienne and Gascony, Poitou, Biscay, and other territories from the mouth of the Loire to the foot of the Pyrenees. Her grandfather, at this time approaching seventy, took the singular resolution of abdicating in favour of his grand daughter, then in the fourteenth year of her age and of passing the remainder of his days in penitence and seclusion as an atonement for the crimes and sins of his youth. Having made the conditions of his abdication agreeable to the lords of Aquitaine, the duke further proposed that his grand daughter should be united in marriage to Louis le Jeune son of Louis le Gros, to which also the barons agreed. Accordingly, the marriage was solemnised with great pomp at Bourdeaux, in 1137, and the same day Duke William, laying down his insignia of sovereignty in favour of his grand daughter, assumed the weeds of the penitent, and departed on pilgrimage to St James of Compostella, in Spain, where he died soon afterwards.

By this marriage, the north and south of France were united under one sovereignty, and, as if fortune would complete the auspicious event scarcely were the nuptial festivities over, when the young couple were summoned to the death bed of King Louis the Sixth and the undivided sway of France was thus at once consigned to their hands.

The young Louis was eighteen, handsome, and of a noble figure, amiable and gentle in manners, but at the same time of a grave and severe turn of mind. Eleanor was extremely beautiful. Born and educated in a country proverbial for its poetry and romance, she inherited its genius, and distinguished herself as one of its best troubadour poets, nature indeed seemed to have lavished her favours upon her. Matthew of Paris says she was indicated in the prophecies of the famous Merlin, under the name of an Eagle: firstly, because having been Queen of France and England, she had extended her wings over two kingdoms; secondly, because she ravished by her extreme beauty the hearts of all who beheld her.

Charmed with his beautiful bride, Louis seemed to have reached the summit of human wishes, while Eleanor, secure in the return of his affection, loved her husband with sincerity. Thus, for a brief period, their happiness seemed complete. Austere, however, as was the rule of the young king's life, Eleanor had the power of influencing him for evil, as is proved by the following instance, the only act of wilful injustice with which history charges him.

The Count of Vermandois having fallen in love with the fascinating Petronilla, the queen's sister, repudiated his wife, the sister of the Count of Champagne, in order that he might marry her. The Count of Champagne appealed to the pope, who commanded that Petronilla should be put away, and the sister of Champagne taken back by her husband. But Eleanor, who had connived at the marriage of Petronilla, would not consent to this, and instigated the king to punish the Count of Champagne for having interfered in the matter. Louis accordingly invaded Champagne with a large army, and carried on a most destructive war. The town of Vitry was stormed, the cathedral set fire to, and no less than thirteen hundred persons, who had taken refuge within its walls, were burned to death.

At this time, Bernard, the Abbé of Chevroux, preached a crusade at Vezelay, in Burgundy, with such fervour and eloquence that he won all who heard him. Among the thousands who thronged to listen to him were the king and queen, attended by their court. In the course of his address, Bernard spoke so powerfully of the sufferings of the people of Vitry, that the king, penetrated with remorse, vowed to atone for his crimes by assuming the cross, and Eleanor, equally guilty, and even more impulsive than her husband, determined to accompany him, as sovereign of Aquitaine, for the honour of God and the peace of her own soul.

Louis received the cross upon his knees from the hands of St. Bernard, and his nobles followed his example. It is probable that the love of novelty and romantic adventure, which would have great fascination for a poetic nature like Eleanor's, influenced her as much in this sudden show of devotion as affection for Louis, or even the penitence which she professed. Nor does it appear that Louis was adverse to her wishes ; on the contrary, it is supposed that he feared leaving her behind him in France, where she must have been placed at the head of the government, which, with his knowledge of her volatile and ambitious character, he knew would be a dangerous experiment. However that might be, it was unfortunate for the success of the crusade that Eleanor and her ladies enlisted under its banners.

In vain the wise Suger, the able minister of Louis, used his utmost endeavours to induce his master to give up this mad enterprise ; in vain was it that great dissatisfaction prevailed throughout France in consequence of the heavy taxes which were levied on account of it. Louis was steadfast in what he believed to be his religious duty, and the romantic fanaticism which seized on the queen and her court spread like wildfire through the country. Thousands of young nobles joined the crusade for the sake of the fair ladies, who had sent their distaffs to such as appeared lukewarm, compelling them through shame to join in the wild undertaking. Even wits and poets enlisted in the crusade to amuse the nobles and to relieve the fatigues of the journey, as well as to immortalise in song the warriors and fair ones who gave so distinguished a character to this expedition. Some women entered these lists from curiosity ; others from religious motives ; some accompanied their husbands ; and others, young maidens, followed their lovers to the Holy Land. These female crusaders were armed and accoutred like Amazons, and being mounted on horseback composed a squadron which styled itself Queen Eleanor's Guard.

At length, on the 11th of June, 1147, Louis set forth with his vast multitude of followers, amounting to 200,000 persons, intending to follow the Emperor Conrad, who, roused also by the preaching of St. Bernard, had landed in France with a large army. The French army traversed Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, the greatest disorder prevailing amongst them. With so vast a number of women it was impossible to preserve strict discipline ; money and provisions also failing, the wants of the many were supplied by means of rapine and plunder, which irritating against them the inhabitants of the

countries through which they passed, they were regarded rather as robbers or banditti whom it was meritorious to destroy, than as soldiers of a faith which was common to all. Thus their numbers were greatly diminished by the time they reached Constantinople.

At Constantinople they were received by Manuel Comnenus with apparent kindness, but with the concealed hatred of an enemy. He had already behaved with the greatest treachery towards the Emperor Conrad and his followers, and he now meditated the ruin of the French. Between Constantinople and Antioch numberless were the difficulties and misfortunes encountered by Louis and his followers, the crowning of which was the signal defeat they experienced in the neighbourhood of Laodicea, where, so great was the number of the French either killed or taken prisoners, that out of 30,000 men it is said only 7000 remained.

Louis displayed in this desperate encounter the utmost courage, and fought with desperation until forced from the spot where he had beheld many of his most valiant knights expire. He was led by his servants to a rock, where they hoped to find safety for the night, but they were discovered and dispersed, the king only escaping by climbing a tree. There he defended himself by cleaving the heads, hands, or arms of his enemies as they attempted to ascend the tree, until dispersed and discouraged, and ignorant of his quality, they at length left him. He remained in this situation the greater part of the night, when some of his own party, informed of his danger, hastened to meet him. The alarm of the queen and her ladies was relieved by the king's arrival, yet the utmost consternation prevailed in the camp, not only from the loss of such great numbers of their friends, but for the want of provisions, their stores having been carried off by the enemy whilst they had yet twelve days' march before them.

At length they reached Attalia, whence Louis and his queen with their nobility embarked for Antioch, leaving the infantry to await other transports. They, however, impatient to join their monarch, proceeding forward by land, encountered so many fresh difficulties that but few of the number were left.

When Louis arrived at Antioch with his queen and her escort of ladies, he was received by Raymond of Poitou, the reigning monarch, and uncle of Eleanor, with every possible mark of respect and joy. He loaded the king with presents, and sought by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with the young queen, his niece. From this moment commenced that jealousy of his wife in the breast of Louis,

and those bitter misunderstandings between them which finally ended in divorce. Raymond of Poitou, though the uncle of Eleanor, was still a handsome man of attractive manners ; and so completely did she give herself up to the fascinations of his society, that Louis, in a fit of rage and jealousy, suddenly carried her off one night to Jerusalem.

Whatever might have been the religious ardour which induced Eleanor to commence this crusade, it was wholly cooled by the time she reached the Holy City, and no sentiment remained in her heart but resentment against her husband for what she considered his unjustifiable severity. Louis lingered in Palestine, desirous of rendering some service to the Christian cause ; but the Crusade terminated unfortunately, and the king returned to France in compliance with the earnest wish of his minister, to defeat the cabal of the Count of Dreux, his brother, in the autumn of 1149.

Various statements have been made by historians concerning the conduct of Queen Eleanor whilst in Palestine. While one author accuses her of intriguing with her uncle ; another speaks of her levity with a young Turkish emir named Saladin ; others again narrate a romantic history in which the celebrated Saladin himself figures as the object of the king's jealousy ; and the Archbishop of Tyre intimates in general terms that the queen, whilst at Antioch, forgot by her irregularities the respect due to her rank and the king her husband. Nothing, however, was proved against her honour ; nevertheless Louis retained his suspicions, and returned home resolved on obtaining a divorce. From this his prudent minister Segur seems to have dissuaded him, from the consideration that the restoration of her magnificent dower was undesirable, as well as that it would be detrimental to the interests of their daughter the Princess Mary.

On their return to Paris, Queen Eleanor remained in that capital, closely watched by her husband, whom she regarded with aversion. She now perceived faults in his character ; while his sincere devotion and austerity of manners and appearance excited her contempt. She was even heard to exclaim that she had married a monk and not a king.

At this unhappy period, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and husband to the Empress Matilda, appeared at the court of Louis, to do homage for Normandy, bringing with him his son Henry, now but seventeen years of age. Geoffrey was reckoned one of the handsomest and most accomplished knights of the age, and Eleanor bestowed so much attention upon him as to excite much scandal.

About a year and a half after this, her first acquaintance with the Counts of Anjou, father and son, Eleanor gave birth to a second daughter, called Alice, and not long afterwards, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, being dead, the son now grown into a handsome young man, the fame of whose learning and bravery had extended beyond Anjou, again presented himself at the French court to do homage for his dominions.

It was an easy thing for Queen Eleanor to transfer her fickle fancy from the dead father to the living son, and scandal busied itself with a new love story. Whatever King Louis might think about a divorce, Eleanor was now determined to obtain one, and accordingly applied for it on the plea of her too near consanguinity with her husband. The king—well pleased, no doubt, to obtain a divorce on any terms and caring nothing for Segur's argument about the ample dower—joined heartily in the application, and the divorce was accordingly granted on the idle plea of consanguinity, in March, 1152, not quite four years after the setting forth of the ill-starred crusade.

After sixteen years of wedlock, therefore, Eleanor removed from the capital and the court of Louis in the full and firm possession of all those noble territories which, by her marriage, she had annexed to the crown of France. Wealthy as she was, the king in parting with her is said to have remarked, that 'her conduct had made her so infamous that the poorest gentleman in his kingdom would not desire to have her for his wife!' But whatever Louis knew of morals, he certainly knew little of human nature. Eleanor, now about thirty, still retained great beauty, and with all her wealthy inheritance as Duchess of Aquitaine, several princes immediately sought her alliance.

Returning to her native country, her adventures were strange enough for any heroine of romance, several plans were laid to carry her off, and even in one instance by Geoffrey, the brother of the very man for whose sake she was now free, and to whom she had promised marriage before her divorce was obtained.

Six weeks after leaving Paris, Eleanor gave her hand to Henry Plantagenet Count of Anjou. The nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence at Bourdeaux in the year 1152 after which Henry took his bride into Normandy. This marriage greatly annoyed Louis, who even at one time thought of forbidding it on the plea that the Count of Anjou could not marry without the consent of him his feudal lord. He, however, in this spirit of animosity entered into a

league with King Stephen, and, in consequence, Henry was obliged not very long after his marriage, yet, nevertheless, after the birth of their first child, to hasten into England in defence of his inheritance there.

Whilst in England, the young Henry, who perhaps was only imitating his wife's example during her first marriage, renewed his acquaintance with, and even, by some is supposed, to have married that fair Rosamond Clifford whose story, as related by the old ballad-writers, has left the character of Queen Eleanor some shades darker than history, the grave and more accurate sister of poetry, has proved it to be. Henry, it is said, first saw and fell in love with the fair Rosamond in his early youth when he was in England and received knighthood from his uncle the King of Scotland; and it is probable that at that time some form of betrothal or marriage took place between them, for it is difficult to conceive how, on the occasion of his second visit to England, his marriage with Eleanor should not be known to Rosamond, if, as some suppose, the marriage took place at this time between himself and her. But that the virtuous daughter of the Cliffords believed herself, at this period and even till the queen's discovery of her at Woodstock, to be Henry's lawful wife, there can be no doubt; and Henry himself appears to have regarded her as such, for many years afterwards, when the dissensions with the princes his sons had greatly embittered his life, he is recorded to have exclaimed to one of the sons of Rosamond, "Thou art my legitimate son, and the rest are bastards!" The son to whom were addressed these words of wounded affection on the one hand, and paternal pride on the other, was William Long Espée, the eldest son of Rosamond, whose birth took place before Henry returned to Eleanor in Normandy.

Soon after his return, the death of Stephen summoned him to England as its undisputed sovereign; and accompanied by his wife and son, he came hither in the month of December, 1154, and on the 19th of the same month he and Eleanor were crowned in Westminster Abbey. This coronation was one of unparalleled magnificence. Eleanor, who had naturally a taste for elegance and splendour, which had been greatly increased by her journey into the East, whence she had brought articles of luxury and magnificence hitherto unknown in the western parts of Europe, indulged, on this occasion, this taste to the utmost, and astonished her new subjects by all her Oriental splendour. The coronation robes of the ecclesiastics were now for the first time composed of silk and velvet embroidered with gold. Henry wore a short

Angevin cloak, which obtained for him the surname of Court Mantle, and the form of the coronation robes as worn by him is continued to the present time

The Christmas festivities were held with great pomp at Westminster Palace, but immediately after the coronation, Eleanor removed to the palace at Bermondsey, where, in the following February, she gave birth to her second son. In a commercial point of view, Henry's union with the Princess of Aquitaine was advantageous to this country. The wines of Gascony were now for the first time introduced, and large fortunes were made by the merchants who imported them, although some of the rigid old chroniclers complain of the increase of drunkenness in consequence of the cheapness of these wines.

Henry, as the direct descendant of the beloved old Saxon monarchs, was regarded with affection by the English people, and at a great assembly of the nobles in the following March, the barons kissed the hands of his children, who were present with the queen, and swore to acknowledge them as the heirs of the English crown, as the rightful descendants of Alfred and Edward the Confessor. A few weeks afterwards William, the eldest of these children, died, and was buried by his great grandfather, Henry the First, at Reading.

The queen, as was natural, indulged, in her new kingdom, her native love for poetry and dramatic representation. Mysteries and miracle plays were acted before her, and many records yet remain of the gay festivity she kept up at her various palaces of Westminster, Winchester, and Woodstock. It was at the favourite summer palace of Woodstock that the beloved Rosamond was concealed, and here, in the second year of her connexion with the king, had she given birth to her second son. As regarded Rosamond, two things were impossible to Henry, either to keep his marriage with the queen from her knowledge, or to keep her much longer from the knowledge of the queen. Rosamond lived in a bower or secret chamber, as tradition has it, at some little distance from the palace in the centre of a labyrinth or thicket. Of course, Eleanor's jealousy and suspicion once roused would not rest until the secret was discovered, and the mode of its discovery tradition and the old ballads, which always have their origin in truth, tell us, was by means of a clue of silk, which had attached itself to Henry's spur on leaving Rosamond's bower, and which—being traced backwards by the queen, into whose chamber Henry had unconsciously brought it,—led her into the very presence of her rival Eleanor, however, was less vindictive than tradition avers, she neither

stabbed Rosamond to the heart, nor yet compelled her to drain "a cup of poison strong." This, however, she did, there is no doubt,—she insisted, very naturally, on the removal of so dangerous a rival; and Rosamond, in the religious spirit of her age, voluntarily entered the nunnery at Godstow, leaving her two sons to the care of King Henry, who, though it does not appear that he concerned himself further as to their mother, always showed the affections of a parent towards them. Rosamond died twenty years afterwards at Godstow, where her life of penitence and prayer had won for her the respect almost of a saint.

In the year 1156 Eleanor gave birth to her eldest daughter, the Princess Matilda, and, in the September of the following year, at Oxford to Richard, afterwards called *Cœur de Lion*. In 1159, Henry and Eleanor were again crowned at Worcester, and the September following was born another son called Geoffrey Plantagenet, who the same year was betrothed to Constance the Princess of Bretagne, at that time under two years old. Henry had unjustly seized upon Bretagne, and now wished to conciliate the offended people by marrying the infant duchess to his son. He also revived the claims of his wife to the earldom of Thoulouse, but in this was opposed by Louis of France, who, in aid of Raymond, Earl of Thoulouse, threw himself into the city just as the English monarch approached it with his forces; and whilst Henry was thus employed, Eleanor acted as Queen Regent in England.

In 1160, Eleanor went over to Normandy to her husband, taking with her her son Prince Henry and her daughter, in consequence of a marriage being proposed between Marguerite the daughter of her former husband, Louis the Seventh, by his second wife, Alice of Champagne, and her young son Henry. This marriage having been contracted, the young couple were placed under the care of Chancellor à Becket, afterwards the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom their education was entrusted. Nor could a better choice have been made; the children were singularly happy, and the attachment which he inspired in their youthful breasts towards him ended only with their lives. Nor was this the only marriage between these two families—the last families under ordinary circumstances who might have been expected to seek each other's alliance. A dispute having arisen between the two royal fathers respecting the dower of the young Marguerite, it was settled by a second family union. The King of France had yet another daughter, the Princess Alice; and the King of England had

yet another son Prince Richard, therefore these two were affianced Prince Richard being four years old and the young bride three—the age at which two years before her sister Marguerite had been contracted in marriage to Prince Henry, and to make the union still more agreeable to the king of England the little princess was placed in his hands to be brought up under his charge. Unhappy was this alliance most mischievous the confidence that was placed in the king in the person of the young princess an element of after discord, guilt and misery was introduced into the royal house.

The eldest daughter of Queen Eleanor by the King of France was married to the Count of Champagne and her second daughter, three years later, to the Count of Blois who was made by Louis high seneschal of France an office which Henry of England claimed as his right as Count of Anjou and which being given to another, he made into a cause of quarrel.

At this time Henry's troubles were at their height with Thomas à Becket his former beloved friend and prime minister Becket, much against his will,—and as he foretold to the ruin of his friendship with his royal master—was made solely to gratify the king Archbishop of Canterbury, and hence during seven long years raged that deadly feud which only ended in the murder of à Becket and the king's abject contrition.

On occasion of the quarrel with Louis respecting the seneschalship of France Henry's mother, the aged Empress Matilda came forward as mediator, by order of Pope Alexander, to whom she had written on the subject, she also received the pontiff's commands to act as mediator in the great church feud between her son and à Becket, but death put an end to her endeavours and that at a time when Henry was busied in taking possession of Bretagne on behalf of the infant Duchess Constance the betrothed bride of his young son Geoffrey.

In 1166 Eleanor who had resided latterly at Woodstock, gave birth to Prince John, and the following year, having been placed by her husband as regent in Normandy, the people revolted and Henry was obliged to hasten to her aid. But if the people of Normandy revolted because Eleanor was placed over them her native country of Aquitaine did the same because they were no longer gladdened by her presence. Henry, therefore as the best means of pacification, established his queen as regent at Bourdeaux, together with her favourite son Richard. It was fortunate for Henry that, with all his various scattered territories, he had a wife capable of governing with wisdom

equal to his own. Indeed, from 1157 to 1172, Eleanor takes a prominent place in history as an able sovereign, either in her own possessions, or as regent in England during the absence of the king. Hitherto, however, she had maintained her sway in perfect concord with her husband, but from this period a much less amicable relationship existed between them.

Whilst Eleanor and her son Richard remained happily at Bourdeaux, Henry and his son Prince Henry returned to England, which was now agitated by the dispute with à Becket. Prince Henry, who, as has been said, had been brought up, together with his young bride, under the care of à Becket, retained for him still the strongest affection, and seemed likely enough to become a dangerous partisan on his side against his father. To prevent so undesirable an event, Henry took the singular resolve of associating him with himself on the throne, to which of course the young prince could have no objection; and preparations were accordingly made for his coronation, his bride, the youthful Marguerite of France, who was now under the charge of Queen Eleanor in Aquitaine, being sent for, that she also might be crowned queen. Marguerite, however, learning that her beloved friend and guardian à Becket was not to officiate at the august ceremony, refused to come, and therefore the young king was crowned without her. The obstinacy of Marguerite on this occasion, as well as the cause of it, were highly displeasing to King Henry; whilst her father, the King of France, was equally displeased, believing that a slight had been shown to his daughter, and that it had not been the wish of Henry that she should participate in the honours he had bestowed upon his son.

Troubles and vexations were now thickening around Henry; and the old friendship for à Becket, which had turned to bitterness, together with other causes of grief and annoyance, produced the most fatal effects on his temper and character. His fits of rage were like the frenzy of a madman; and it was during one of these paroxysms that he asked reproachfully, from the nobles who surrounded him, if there was no one who would free him from an insolent priest. The reproach needed no repetition; à Becket was killed on the steps of the altar at Canterbury, but equanimity was not restored to the breast of the king.

Queen Eleanor, during these events, remained in Aquitaine. Her daughter Matilda was married to Henry, the Lion of Saxony. Her sons Richard and Geoffrey had been crowned, the one Count of Poitou,

the other of Guienne, after the manner of their ancestors, and in accordance with the wishes of their respective subjects. But though King Henry had associated his eldest son with him on the throne of England, and had permitted his sons Richard and Geoffrey to remain with their mother during the regency of Aquitaine, he had no intention of resigning out of his own hands the sovereign rule of that country. Eleanor, on the contrary, resolved that they should be independent of their father—that the sovereignty of those countries should pass into the hands of her sons, and that they should, as their Provençal forefathers had done before them, pay homage—if homage was to be paid at all—to the King of France. Eleanor probably was still more induced to take this hostile step, from the reports which were now current of Henry's intrigues with the Princess Alice, the affianced wife of her favourite son Richard, whom it was said he had seduced, and now kept in almost regal state at Woodstock. The tidings of this family revolt roused the angry king; and, accompanied by his son Henry, he set out from England, resolved to subdue and punish his insurgent wife and children. Scarcely, however, had he set foot on the Continent, when the young king, his companion, eloped from him, and, strange to say, fled to the court of Louis, where he was soon joined by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, the former complaining bitterly against his father, because his wife the Princess Alice, the daughter of Louis, was kept from him; and the latter demanding that his affianced wife Constance, together with her dower, the duchy of Bretagne, should be given up to him.

Eleanor, like her sons, unwilling to fall into the hands of the incensed king, fled also, resolving, like them, to throw herself under the protection of the King of France, and for this purpose, having as it would seem, but little faith in her own people, disguised herself in male attire, and set out. She had not proceeded far, however, when she was overtaken by the agents of her husband, and brought back to Bourdeaux—to the very city where twenty years before their nuptials had been performed with so much pride and pomp. Here she was made close prisoner till the arrival of her husband, and from this period a dark cloud of captivity and sorrow hangs for many years over the life of the once bright and beautiful Queen Eleanor.

Henry returned to England, bringing with him not only his queen as a captive, but also the young Marguerite, who, having dared to set her will in defiance to his in the matter of the coronation, was now to undergo humiliation and punishment. On his way to London, in

company with his two captives, Henry performed his celebrated penance at the tomb of à Becket, which it may be supposed was no unpleasing spectacle to Marguerite, who, for her attachment to this great man, was now treated as a criminal. The young King Henry, through the intervention of Louis the Seventh, to whom he had appealed, obtained his bride from his father, and the two were reconciled.

Eleanor was placed in the palace of Winchester under the care of Randolph de Glanville, keeper of the treasure there, and here, with one short interval, she remained for sixteen years. It was at the commencement of this long captivity that Rosamond Clifford died ; and it is in all probability from the circumstance of Queen Eleanor's disgrace and fair Rosamond's death occurring about the same period, that tradition has ascribed to the queen the murder of her rival.

Among the singular circumstances of Eleanor's singular life, the one that perhaps strikes us most is the good understanding that existed between the English and the French courts ; not only did the two kings, the former and present husband of Eleanor, seek a closer alliance through the marriage of their children, but behaved towards each other in the most friendly manner. When in 1179, Louis made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the new saint of Canterbury, Henry proceeded from London to meet him with the utmost respect at Dover, and after the performance of his religious vow, took him to the palace at Winchester, where Eleanor was confined ; but whether, to complete the strangeness of the whole, these two had an interview, we are not informed.

Long years of strife and disunion between Henry and his sons, and among the brothers themselves, now succeeded, Henry being as unwisely partial to his eldest and youngest sons, Henry and John, as Eleanor had been to Richard and Geoffrey. This family feud was augmented by the troubadours of Aquitaine, who, resenting the abduction and captivity of their beloved princess, incited her favourite sons to open rebellion by their songs of war and lamentation. But a severer grief than the king had yet experienced was now at hand, in the death of his son Henry. This great sorrow, for the time, reconciled the alienated parents. Eleanor was restored to freedom, and during the time that their daughter Matilda, wife of Henry of Saxony, passed in England, regained even her rank as queen.

But this amicable state of affairs could not last long. Richard, now seven-and-twenty, had become heir to the throne, on the death of his

BERENGARIA,

CONSORT OF RICHARD THE FIRST

BURGUNDIA was a princess of Navarre, and a descendant of that King of Navarre, and Arragon. He married Yugna, the heiress of Castile, and by this accession of territory, became so powerful that he aspired to be denominated the Emperor of Spain. But upon his death, his dominions were divided among four of his children; and his transitory acquisition, which, if it could have been bequeathed in its integrity to a resolute successor, might have been beneficial, was productive of no permanent results.

Sancho the Sixth, surnamed the Wise, was the parent of Berengaria. Her brother, Sancho the Strong, appears to have been precisely the character to have attracted the partiality of Richard Cœur de Lion; and accordingly we are not surprised to find that a close friendship existed between them. In addition to his bravery, which in itself was a tie for the English prince, Sancho possessed a strong predilection for Ptolemaic poetry of which Richard was an enthusiastic admirer. As Duke of Guenne, Richard was a near neighbour of the count of Navarre, and had ample opportunities of cementing his friendship for the brother, and of originating an affection for the sister. Probably, during the familiar intercourse arising from some sojourn at the castle of her father, Richard contracted his passion for Berengaria; and it is affirmed, that, hence, ungenerable, licentious, and wayward as he was, spite of the many noble qualities of his nature, for a time he really passionately loved her. Whether this love was wholly merited does not unequivocally appear; but we are told that she was gentle, beautiful, and instructed. While nobly existed, this pleasing princess must have made some strong impression on his volatile heart; for during nearly two years which followed his accession to the throne, he evidently maintained his desire to be wedded to her. Nevertheless, long after this passion commenced, that is, in 1189, he would have married Alice of France.





for the sake of the advantages which that alliance would then have brought to him. When, however, he became king, and needed no longer the support of Philip, he prepared himself to take for his bride, *cæteris paribus*, her whom personally he preferred ; and for this purpose he despatched his mother to Navarre, to obtain for him the hand of the Princess Berengaria. To the proposition of Queen Eleanor, Sancho the Sixth gladly acceded, and into her custody surrendered his willing daughter. They then bade farewell to his court, and commenced their journey to Naples, not to England ; for by this time, Richard, insatiate of military renown, had completed his preparations for his crusade against the infidels. On the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, Philip and Richard had assembled their mighty forces ; and there, after swearing mutually good faith, and to hold each other's dominions sacred during their absence, they arranged the plans of their expedition. Philip then took the road to Genoa, and Richard departed for Marseilles ; from which ports they embarked, environed by their respective and formidable armaments.

Probably Richard's intention was to have touched at Naples to receive his bride ; but if this intention ever existed, it was defeated by a tempest, which compelled him to take shelter with his whole navy in the harbour of Messina, whither Philip, by the same ill wind, was also necessitated to fly for refuge. Through this disastrous influence of the elements occurred events which not only threatened for a time to prevent his union with the fair Navarese, but matured, if not sowed, those seeds of dissension between the two haughty monarchs which ultimately induced the failure of their expedition against the Saracens.

In the inactivity which this unlucky incident occasioned, alone existed sufficient elements of mischief ; but many other adverse causes combined to strengthen irritation and animosity between the jealous and fiery chiefs of France and England. An artful Italian prince, Tancred, King of Naples and Sicily, was the great promoter of these divisions ; in order that their minds might be so engrossed by their mutual antipathy, that neither of them should have thought or leisure to be inimical to him ; for in both he had but too much reason to expect to find a foe. Richard was indignant with him because he had imprisoned his sister, Joanna, the Dowager Queen of Naples ; while Philip was displeased insomuch that the rightful heir to it was the wife of his ally, Henry the Sixth, Emperor of Germany.

At length, these divisions of the brothers in arms, as they were

called, prevailed to such an alarming extent, that the more prudent and well-intentioned of the barons on both sides intervened to endeavour to terminate this dangerous state of antagonism. A solemn conference was held for the purpose of discussing and composing every subject which then was, or at any time might prove likely to be, productive of controversy and alienation between the two sovereigns. But this expedient, wise and well meaning as it was, threatened for a time to create the very conflagration which it was intended to prevent; for one of the first combustible topics brought under the consideration of the council was the engagement of Richard to marry Alice! Then came the tug of strife, and very nearly of war, when the English prince declared that he would not only not wed Philip's sister, but that his reason for rejecting her hand was, that the lady's reputation was not as unsullied as it ought to have been! The accusations advanced were so strong, and so respectably and unimpeachably sustained, that Philip was ashamed to enforce his sister's claim; and not only concurred in her rejection, but actually sanctioned the union of Richard with Berengaria of Navarre.

From this period really commences the crusading career of Richard Cœur de Lion. Philip resumed his voyage for the Holy Land as soon as he had given his assent to the connubial intentions of the daring Plantagenet, who delayed for a brief time to follow him, in order that he might be accompanied by his bride. Speedily, therefore, after her arrival, under the protection of Queen Eleanor, at Messina, he sailed from that unquiet city; having divided his armament into two squadrons, one of which he headed himself, and to the other, commanded by a noble knight, consigned the custody of Berengaria and his sister Joanna, the Dowager Queen of Naples. Here Queen Eleanor, bidding adieu to both her children, returned to England before they quitted the port.

Again Richard's fleet was destined to be exposed to the fury of the elements; and that portion of it in which were embarked the two princesses experienced the heaviest force of the tempest. Several of the vessels of the dispersed squadron were wrecked at Limoussou, on the coast of Cyprus, where they were pillaged by Isaac, the caitiff prince of the island, who in puerile ambition attached to himself the title of emperor. But not satisfied with pillage, this lawless and impolitic despot not only loaded with chains and imprisoned the crews of the vessels he had plundered, but had the folly, as well as the barbarity, to prevent the ship which contained the princesses, and was most

perilously tossing and labouring in the offing, from entering the harbour. Speedily, however, was ample vengeance taken for this ignoble cruelty ; for, on approaching Cyprus, the first object Richard beheld was the dangerous position of his sister and Berengaria ; and on learning the cause, his fury knew no bounds. Scarcely waiting for the disembarkation of a few of the most eager of his warriors, he leapt on the shore, armed cap-a-pie and battle-axe in hand, and driving back the wrecker prince, who attempted to oppose their landing, Limoussou was entered by storm. The triumphant avenger then signalled to the royal ship that it might approach with safety ; and the weary anxious princesses once more escaped their perils by sea, and reposed themselves on a less unstable element.

The next day Richard again defeated the felon Isaac, and compelled him to surrender. His person being seized, he was imprisoned and laden with fetters of iron ; when complaining bitterly that the quality of the metal which constrained him was not proportionate to his dignity, the fierce Plantagenet, from whim or ostentation, ordered him to be secured with chains of silver. This concession so gratified the vanity of the ignoble Isaac, that he praised his conqueror for his generosity.

In this appropriate isle Richard united himself to the fair Berengaria, amidst all the pomp and circumstances of oriental luxury and feudal power. If some historians are to be believed, King Richard did not escape from the bad influences which seem to be native to this island ; for, bridegroom as he was, it is asserted that he became enamoured of the daughter of his prisoner Isaac. But this imputation was, there is every reason to believe, wholly unfounded, and took its rise simply from this princess having accompanied to Palestine his queen, Berengaria.

Richard arrived before Acre during the siege of that city by the Crusaders, and contributed greatly to its capture.

The subject of these pages, however, is Berengaria ; and gladly would we give some details of her life and habits during this extraordinary siege ; but history is dumb on the subject. The gentle lady seems to have been unnoticed in the glare which drew the universal and concentrated observation to her warlike husband. When Acre was taken, Richard established his queen and sister Joanna, Queen of Naples, safely there. They remained at Acre during the whole of the Syrian campaign, with the Cyprian princess ; and the ruins of a palace, to this day called King Richard's Palace, marks the

spot of Berengaria's residence. It was at Acre that King Richard tore down the banner of Leopold, Archduke of Austria. The archduke was the uncle of the Cypriot princess, and it is said that her remaining in the train of Berengaria was the real cause of quarrel.

No sooner was Acre taken than a quarrel also sprung up between Richard and the King of France, which proved fatal to the enterprise. Richard performed prodigies of valour, but he was by no means supported by his ill-affected allies. When Richard had arrived almost within sight of the Holy City, news was brought him that the Duke of Burgundy had retreated, expressly to prevent Richard having the honour of taking it. On hearing this, he threw down his arms, crying, with tears in his eyes, and hands uplifted towards heaven, "Ah! Lord God, I pray thee that I may never see thy holy city Jerusalem, since things thus happen, and since I cannot deliver it from the hands of thy enemies." He returned to Acre, made peace with Saladin, and set sail for Europe.

Voltaire remarks, "If Richard returned to Europe with more glory than Philip obtained, at all events he returned less prudently." And nothing but the extraordinary character of this prince can explain the temerity with which he determined the mode of his return to his dominions. A mysterious estrangement is said by the chroniclers at this time to have existed between himself and Berengaria, and Richard's partiality towards the Cypriot princess is assigned as the cause. But the mode of their return renders this improbable. Berengaria, Joanna of Naples, and the Cypriot princess, embarked in the same vessel for Naples, where they safely arrived. Richard himself set sail in another vessel, which was wrecked on the coast of Istria, whence, by a strange and unexplained fatality, he rushed forward in disguise into the very territory, and into the actual vicinity of the capital, of his incensed foe, the Archduke of Austria. Here he was seized, and confined, first in the castle of Durrstein, on the Danube, and then in that of Trifels, in the Vosges, as the prisoner of the emperor, to whom he had been sold by Leopold, and from whence he was ransomed, as already related in the life of his mother.

At Rome, Berengaria first heard of this treacherous captivity; but history does not record that she made any efforts to emancipate him. Probably her gentleness may have verged upon inertness: if she had been active and impassioned, as was the aged Queen Eleanor, the voice of her supplications must have been heard throughout the European world. Nevertheless, she seems not to have been entirely

supine with regard to her own position ; for, being detained at Rome through fear of the emperor, her continuous and urgent solicitations induced the pope to grant her an escort to convey her and Joanna, by way of Pisa and Genoa, to Marseilles. Here she found a protector in her kinsman the King of Arragon, who was her safeguard through his own dominion of Provence, and then despatched her onward under the guidance of Raimond de St. Gilles. This noble knight performed the part of guardian so zealously and dexterously, that he won the heart of the fair Queen Joanna, to whom, on their arrival in Poitou, he was united in marriage. He was evidently a marvellously insinuating man, for he had already had three wives, and contrived to have a fifth before he died. This union healed the long breach which had existed between the House of Aquitaine and the Counts of Toulouse, Queen Eleanor giving up her rights to her daughter Joanna, now the wife of the famous Raimond the Sixth, Count de Toulouse, the supporter of the Albigeois, and the foe of the equally celebrated Simon de Montfort.

Richard did not arrive in England till after an absence of more than four years. Here he was received with rapturous delight, and was now crowned a second time, at Winchester, but without his queen Berengaria, from whom he still continued estranged. During Richard's imprisonment, Berengaria had lost her father, Sancho the Wise ; and her brother, Sancho the Strong, was now sovereign of Navarre ; and it was at the earnest entreaty of Berengaria that this monarch had been induced to rescue Richard's duchy of Normandy, which had been invaded by the King of France, on account of Queen Eleanor forcibly detaining there the Princess Alice, that fruitful cause of discord.

After a short stay in England, Richard went over to France, and resided some months in his Angevin territories. Here Berengaria was living, but Richard went not near her, and his conduct at that time is described as dissolute and disgraceful. It was not till 1196, that Richard, beginning to repent of his sinful life, became reconciled to his queen. Higden, in his "Polychronicon," says : "The king took home to him his queen Berengaria, whose society he had for a long time neglected, though she were a royal, eloquent, and beautiful lady, and for his love had ventured for him through the world." This took place at Poitiers, at Christmas, which he kept in that city in princely state. From that time Berengaria and Richard were never again parted. But from that time till his death he was totally absent from England, where Berengaria, though queen of the country, never was.

The death of Richard, which occurred in April, 1199, was occasioned by his cupidity. He had heard a tale that Vidomac, Count of Limoges, had found in a field a great treasure of golden statues and vases. Richard demanded his share, as sovereign of the country. There being no such treasure, none could be delivered; and Richard, besieging the count's castle of Chaluz, was killed by an arrow. Berengaria was with him at the time. The death of Richard was immediately followed by that of his sister, Joanna of Naples, who came to solicit his aid against the enemies of her second husband, Raimond of Provence, and was laid with her royal brother in the same vault. This was immediately followed by the death of Berengaria's only sister, Blanche; and thus was this unfortunate queen at once deprived of all who were dear to her in the world. She resolved, therefore, to retire from it, and fixed her residence at Mans, in the Orleanois, where she founded the noble Abbey of L'Espan.

Berengaria lived many years after the death of her husband; but, if her married state did not attach to her celebrity, of course her widowhood was still more obscure. Nothing further is known of her than that she was occasionally engaged in pecuniary strife with that very fraudulent person John, and subsequently with Henry the Third, neither of these monarchs paying regularly their stipulated composition for her English dower; and Berengaria, who seems to have considered the office of pope as by no means a sinecure, invariably summoned him to act as her advocate. We have seen how, when she was in distress at Rome, she obtained assistance from Celestine, the pope of that day; nor does she seem to have been less prevailing in subsequent times; for his holiness, like a good *preux chevalier*, always stepped effectively forward to her succour.

She died at some period between 1230—the year in which she completed her noble Abbey of L'Espan, to which she then finally and fully retired—and 1240. She was buried in her own abbey, where her tomb still remains, bearing a fine effigy. An existing writer thus concludes a memoir of her: "From early youth to her grave, Berengaria manifested devoted love for Richard; uncomplaining when deserted by him, forgiving when he returned, and faithful to his memory unto death."



ISABELLA OF ANGOULEME,

QUEEN OF JOHN OF ENGLAND

ISABELLA OF ANGOULEME, the consort of John—the meanest, most cruel, and evil-disposed monarch that ever wore the English crown—was the daughter and heir of Aymer Taillefer, Count of Angoulême. In infancy her parents had contracted this fair and rich heiress to Hugh de Lusignan, a noble gentleman, brave and handsome as he was powerful; and who, through his influence as eldest son of the reigning Count de la Marche, governor of those provinces forming the northern boundary of the Aquitanian dominions, then called French Poitou, could at any time raise the *ban* and *arrière-ban*, and pour the chivalry of a large portion of France on the southern provinces.

This match was, at the time of its contraction, considered an eligible one for the heiress; and she was accordingly, after the custom of the period, with all ceremonious observance, delivered over by her parents to the care and custody of her betrothed, and placed by him in one of his stout fortresses, where she remained, strongly guarded, and with a brilliant retinue, up to the age of fifteen. At this time John cast his eyes upon her at a festival held on the occasion of his being recognised as sovereign of Aquitaine, and struck by her wondrous beauty, and ever impetuous in all his motions, instantly—although he knew of her betrothment, and was himself married to Ayisa, the granddaughter of Robert of Gloucester—offered her his hand.

There can be little doubt but that Isabella was attached to her affianced husband; but, urged by her parents in John's favour, she was unable to withstand the dazzling splendour of the crown. John at this time was thirty-two, and Isabella just turned fifteen; and as the lady's parents managed matters so as to evade her return to the custody of her betrothed, she was married to her royal lover at Bourdeaux in the month of August, 1200—the Archbishop of Bourdeaux

and the Bishop of Poitou, who both assisted at the ceremony, declaring that no impediment existed to the union.

Lusignan, on being informed of this marriage, was highly incensed, and sent a cartel to the English king, defying him to mortal combat. John, however, affected to laugh at the message. "If," said he, "the Count of Lusignan wishes for a combat, I will find a champion to do battle for me." "A champion appointed by the unscrupulous king," returned the brave Marcher, "would be either some mercenary ruffian or a common stabber, unworthy of my weapon." He therefore silenced his outraged feelings, and patiently waited for his revenge, whilst John carried off his bride in triumph to England, where she was publicly recognised as queen.

The coronation of John and Isabella took place at Westminster on the 8th of October, 1200; and the intervening months between this time and the following Easter were spent in a continual round of feasting and jollity. Wars and insurrections then broke out. The young Arthur Plantagenet, supported by Sir Guy of Thouars, who had married the Duchess Constance of Brittany, and in whose behalf Anjou and Maine had already declared, asserted his claim to the crown; added to which, the wrathful Lusignan, together with his brother, the powerful Count of Eu, was raising Poitou.

Under these circumstances John and his bride embarked for Normandy, and establishing their court at Rouen, where Prince Arthur was afterwards murdered, resolved to meet the coming dangers.

For some time, however, after his arrival, the king neglected all necessary preparation; and, as was his wont, spent the hours which should have been dedicated to sterner matters, in voluptuous pleasure. His days were, for the most part, passed in bed—his nights in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery. From these idle follies he was suddenly roused by news that "the mother-queen," Eleanor of Aquitaine, was assailed at her castle of Mirabel, in Poitou, by the forces of Count Hugh of Lusignan and Prince Arthur. For once the spirit of the Plantagenet seemed alive; he travelled with incredible speed, and appeared so unexpectedly before Mirabel, that he struck a panic into the hearts of his foes. Isabella had now to witness a conflict between the forces of her husband and those of the man whom she really loved. John was successful; and Lusignan, his rival in love, and Arthur, his rival in empire, were both taken prisoners by him.

There can be little doubt but that the entreaties of Isabella prevailed in Lusignan's favour; for although John treated him with the grossest

indignity, even carrying him in a tumbril-cart, bound hand and foot, in triumph through the country, yet he spared his life ; whilst others of the insurgent barons of Poitou, having been conveyed to England, were starved to death in a dungeon of Corfe Castle, by the king's especial order.

Bitterly now must Isabella have repented her splendid match, for the temper of John was gradually growing more morose and violent. Arthur was murdered ; and the proud Lusignan, refusing all submission, was consigned to one of the dungeons of Bristol Castle, at the same time that the lovely sister of the murdered Arthur, surnamed the Pearl of Brittany, was also a prisoner there. John, who in some measure had been kept in check by his mother, the able Eleanor, seemed, after her death, to give full scope to his evil nature, and even Isabella became the object of his harsh and brutal treatment. Himself in the constant habit of invading the honour of the female nobility, he naturally believed his wife to be guilty of infidelity, and therefore listened to the reports of every dishonest knave whom he hired to watch her. No less than three persons against whom his suspicions were raised were murdered ; and, in order to strike terror into the heart of his wife, their dead bodies were discovered by her hanging over her bed. Soon after this, and although she was the mother of three children, she was arrested and placed under restraint, and lived for some time in constant fear of assassination.

From the year 1212 it is probable that John and his wife came to an amicable understanding ; her mother visited England, and put herself under the protection of John, and he and his queen went over to Angoulême. The Poitovin provinces of John being again seized by Philip, he was compelled to enter into an alliance with his former rival, Count Hugh de Lusignan, who had been now some years at liberty. The count refused his aid unless John gave him his eldest daughter, then an infant, to wife—an atonement, as he said, for having robbed him of the mother in former years ; and John actually delivered over to Lusignan's custody Isabella's infant daughter, Joanna, in order that she might be placed in one of his castles, as her mother had been before her.

Soon after his return to England, the queen found herself suddenly superseded in the affections of her consort by Matilda, surnamed "The Fair," the daughter of Lord Fitzwalter ; and Isabella was again imprisoned in order to keep her out of the way. This act of violence, however, completed the exasperation of John's English subjects. The

years old, as their quarrel proceeded, he wrote, with his own hand, a letter to the pope, requesting him to excommunicate both his mother and father-in-law. To this somewhat unscrupulous request from so young a king the pope demurred. The thunders of the Vatican were not to be lightly used, and they had indeed been of late frequently hurled both on France and England. On inquiring into the cause of the quarrel, his holiness conceived that matters might be readily accommodated by "very easy arguments of love;" and, after a long correspondence, a match was made up between the young king of Scots and "little Joan Makepeace," as she was afterwards called; the Scottish king receiving back his two sisters, who had previously been pawned to King John for a considerable sum of money.

Her early marriage and association with John, whose character was a complication of vices as mean and odious as they were ruinous to himself, and destructive to his subjects, appear to have had their effect upon the disposition and temper of Isabella in after-life. She was now married to one whom she had long regretted and still loved; but she found it impossible to forget her former grandeur as Queen of England. More especially was she incensed and annoyed on finding herself obliged to yield place and precedence to the heiress of Toulouse, wife of the Count of Poitou, to whom her husband was obliged to do homage, but whose rank she considered inferior to her own. This overweening pride eventually proved her ruin. In her offended dignity she stirred up her husband to throw off his allegiance to the French king, and to involve himself in a most disastrous war. Defeat followed defeat, and, notwithstanding the unlucky count was aided by Henry of England, to whom he had, at his wife's instigation, transferred his allegiance, the valiant Marcher found himself obliged to send his young son Hugh to sue for pardon from Louis, which was easily granted on very light conditions.

But neither defeat nor forgiveness appear to have amended the spirit of Isabella. She, on the contrary, treasured up a secret feeling of revenge against the French monarch, and suborned some of her followers to attempt his life by poison.

Doubts have been thrown, it is true, upon Isabella's participation in this attempt; but as she fled for sanctuary to the Abbey of Fontevraud immediately after the arrest of the assassins, and as they accused her in confession, there is sufficient cause to suspect her guilt. In the meantime, whilst she remained in sanctuary, her husband and her son Hugh were both seized by direction of the French king, and ordered to be

brought to trial for participation in the diabolical attempt. Lusignan repelled the charge, and demanded the duel, defying Alphonzo, his accuser, and vowing that he would prove the innocence of himself and family in the lists. Alphonzo, however, declined putting the issue of his life and truth on such a venture, upon the plea that a traitor like the Count de la Marche was unfit to meet a true knight. Isabella's youthful son, Hugh, upon this evasion, also rebutted the charge, and offered himself as an antagonist. At first this second challenge was accepted, but eventually declined, by Alphonzo, who stigmatised the young Marcher as infamous, in common with his whole family.

These tidings, brought to Isabella at Fontevraud, seem to have broken her spirit. The remainder of her life was passed in penance and prayer; and assuming the veil, she soon afterwards died. At her own request she was buried without pomp or ceremony in a lowly grave amongst the sisterhood of the abbey.

Three years after her death the Count de la Marche was seen amongst those who followed the expedition of the French king to Damietta; and according to Montfaucon, he fell fighting against the infidel in the same ranks with his old enemy, Alphonzo, Count of Poitou.

Thus died Isabella of Angoulême and the Count de la Marche. Isabella left behind her a reputation for exceeding beauty and for great pride; and from her having been the cause of the war of precedence,—if it may be so called,—she was nicknamed by the French and Poitevins “Jezebel of Angoulême.”

Previous to his departure for the Holy Land, the unlucky Count de la Marche bequeathed all his younger sons and his daughter Alice to the care of Henry III. His eldest son, Hugh, who had so manfully asserted the innocence of his family, succeeded to both his father's patrimony and also to his mother's fair inheritance. Henry accepted the trust, and amply provided for his half-brothers and sister. The latter he gave in marriage to the Earl of Warren.

ELEANOR OF PROvence,

QUEEN OF HENRY THE THIRD

ELEANOR, no less celebrated for her beauty (which acquired for her the surname of La Belle) than for those defects which rendered her so unpopular in England, was the daughter of Raimond Berenger, Count of Provence, grandson to King Alphonso of Arragon, and of Beatrice, daughter of Count Thomas of Savoy. Raimond Berenger, the last Count of Provence, cultivated poetry with some success, and encouraged the literature, if such it might be called, of the troubadours, to whom he gave a hospitable reception at his court. Beatrice, his countess, also courted the muses, and, if we may judge by the only couplet of her poetry preserved, her writings were more remarkable for freedom of sentiment than for delicacy.

Eleanor of Provence is said to have possessed much of the talents and accomplishments of both her parents, and while yet in early youth was the author of a poem still preserved, and said to have considerable merit. Beauty and talents, however, although gifts to be prized, were insufficient to fit their possessor for the duties imposed by the high station to which they assisted to elevate her. Nor was Henry the Third a prince likely to correct by his judgment the errors of his youthful queen, or by his example to lead her to the path of duty. Weak, unsteady of purpose, and avaricious, he had few qualities calculated to make a favourable impression on the heart of his bride, or to inspire her with respect for his opinions. Disappointed as he had so frequently been in his matrimonial projects, he was probably so gratified to find himself at last the husband of so lovely and brilliant a creature as Eleanor, that he was more disposed to yield implicit compliance to her will than to assert his own. The education and example she received, in a court like that of her parents, were not calculated to form the principles or correct the failings of the youthful and flattered beauty ; and although she derived instruction from Romeo, according

Anxious to do honour to their liege lady, the citizens of London had commanded their streets to be cleaned, so that when she passed nought offensive to her eyes or olfactory nerves could be encountered, while bright-coloured tapestry and silks, wreaths of flowers, and flaunting banners, hung from the windows, making a gay and brilliant sight. The citizens, mounted on gallant steeds, and clothed in robes "dight with gold and rainbow hues," rode forth to meet their sovereigns, whose dresses, composed of a tissue of gold, then little known in England, and adorned with jewels of the most costly description, dazzled the eyes of all beholders. Never previously had aught approaching the magnificence displayed on this occasion been witnessed in England, and long after did the heavy expence incurred for it embarrass the sovereign, and compel him to have recourse to his subjects to aid him in his difficulties. He found them little disposed to assist him, so that he had the double mortification of being obliged to solicit and of being refused.

England, ever looking with jealousy and dislike to the influx of foreigners, viewed with distrust the numerous train that flocked over with the queen; and the favour shown by Henry to the uncle of his consort, Peter of Savoy, tended greatly to increase these prejudices and jealousies. To gratify Eleanor, her weak husband bestowed on her uncle that portion of London which took the name of the Savoy, a piece of misplaced generosity that deeply displeased his already discontented subjects. The exactions of the pope, carried into effect by his legates, helped still more to alienate the affection and respect of the English from their sovereign, and as this alienation soon became known at foreign courts, encroachments were made on Henry's power, from the conviction entertained that, aware of the disaffection of his people, he dared not, however great the provocation, count on being assisted to repel or to avenge them. On the promises of Henry no confidence could be placed. His tergiversations had taught his favourites, as well as the rest of his subjects, to put no trust in him, and even those whom he most favoured were, by the force of example, so well aware of the instability of his good-will, that they sought to take the utmost advantage of it, careless how much injury they entailed on this weak and vacillating monarch by their covetous exactions. With such a husband, Eleanor must have been indeed a woman of more than ordinary good sense and high principle to have escaped being involved in his unpopularity, and, unfortunately, we have no evidence to prove that she possessed these qualities. Under the influence of her uncle, Peter of

to Dante, one of the greatest Italian poets of his time, who was treated more as a friend than a retainer in the family of her father, it may be doubted whether a strict morality, not in those days considered of such vast importance as in our own, was inculcated. The morality of the troubadours was of an extremely lax kind. Exaggerated notions of love and honour, formed only in a chivalrous point of view, pervaded society, and were nowhere more prevalent than in the court of Raimond Berenger and his Countess Beatrice.

The disparity of years between Henry and Eleanor, he being more than double her age, which might, had he possessed a firmer character, have given him an influence over her, produced no good effect; and the love of finery, less pardonable in a man of mature years than in a more youthful one, must have encouraged the natural taste for jewels and rich clothes evinced by the young queen. This passion of Henry the Third for personal finery is more to be wondered at when his love of money is taken into consideration, of which a strong and ungracious proof was given in his reiterated demands for an increase of the portion he expected to receive with his youthful and lovely queen, whose father's finances by no means enabled him to satisfy the inordinate cravings of his future son-in-law. Henry, however, was too much in earnest to forego the lady on account of the smallness of her dower. He wrote in great terror to his ambassadors, telling them to conduct the marriage at once, either with or without money, so that he had but the wife.

The progress of Eleanor to England was a continued scene of splendour. Followed by a numerous train of high-born ladies, and noble lords and knights, with poets to sing her praises, and crowds to echo them, she was everywhere received with honour and distinction. Thibaut of Nassau, himself a poet, not only exercised a princely hospitality towards her and her stately train, but, attended by his court, escorted her to the frontier of France. Here her sister, the queen of Louis the Ninth, received her, nor left her until she embarked for England, where she landed in January, 1236, and the marriage was celebrated at Canterbury, whither Henry had proceeded to meet her, followed by a vast train of his lords and high clergy. The coronation of the queen, for which preparations on the most magnificent scale had been made, took place within a week after the nuptial ceremony, and, as if to mark it with a more solemn character, Henry, two or three days preceding it, laid the first stone of the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

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Savoy, she aided him to attain a power over Henry never exercised but for his own selfish ends, and which defeated the efforts made by Prince Richard, the king's brother, to enlighten him on the danger he was incurring by lavishing the subsidies, raised with such difficulty from his subjects, on foreigners whom they detested.

It was not until 1239 that Queen Eleanor gave Henry an heir to the English crown, who was named Edward, a name rendered popular in England from being that borne by Edward the Confessor. The birth of Edward cemented the affection of Henry for his queen, and increased her influence over him. He commanded the apartments she occupied to be adorned in a style of luxurious elegance hitherto unknown in England, and remarkable for good taste in a period when it was so little understood. Eleanor's passion for jewels was encouraged rather than checked by her husband. She wore these costly ornaments on her head, neck, waist, and robes; and the money expended on them is said to have amounted to no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds, an expenditure which the country could ill afford at that period, and which added to the dissatisfaction of Henry's subjects, so often and heavily taxed to supply his wants. He had created Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond, which furnished another cause of discontent in England, still more enhanced when the influence exercised over the weak monarch by that noble became known.

The near connexion between the Kings of France and England, they having married sisters, did not strengthen the good understanding which such a relationship is supposed to establish.

Louis, heir presumptive to the throne, having, when peace was accorded to him: during the minority of Henry the Third, consented to the conditions required, namely, that he should, when he succeeded his father as King of France, yield up the provinces seized by Philip from King John, failed in the performance of this engagement, and, in 1224, having made himself master of La Rochelle, Henry, determined to attempt its recovery, demanded from parliament money to engage in a war for this purpose. The parliament assented to the demand, but made it an express condition that the charters should be strictly fulfilled. Henry consented, and issued orders to that effect throughout the kingdom.

But these charters were not completed, and the king entering into long and disastrous wars with France covered himself with debts and difficulties. Both he and his queen became very unpopular.

At home the weak infatuation of Henry for Simon de Montfort, whom he created Earl of Leicester, and gave him the hand of his sister,

exasperated further the public dissatisfaction. This was heightened by Queen Eleanor procuring the see of Canterbury for her uncle Boniface, another foreigner.

Henry continued his campaigns in France with signal disgrace and loss of men, money, and territory. It was not until he had exhausted all the resources of the treasury at home that he could be persuaded to return to England. He then commanded his nobles to meet him at Portsmouth, as if he were a conqueror returning to his kingdom in triumph, instead of coming back a defeated and dishonoured sovereign, who had not only lost his possessions in Poitou, but had pledged himself to pay five thousand pounds a year to France. It was during this ill-fated war that Eleanor gave birth to a daughter at Bourdeaux, named Beatrice.

While Henry was occupied in feasting and amusements at Bourdeaux, Eleanor was negotiating a marriage between her sister Sancha and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had lost his wife some months before. In this prince the queen, his sister-in-law, had hitherto found an opponent to the influence she exercised over her weak husband, and the evil use to which she turned it. It was probably a desire to conciliate the opposition of Richard that induced her to effect this marriage; and if so, it succeeded.

In a few months after the return of Henry and his queen from Bourdeaux, the Countess of Provence accompanied the betrothed Sancha to England for the celebration of her nuptials. This event furnished a fresh occasion for expense; and the finances of Henry being then in a state little calculated to defray it, he had recourse to one of those unprincipled measures but too common during his reign whenever his coffers required replenishing. He sought a quarrel with the Jews, in order to have a pretext for extorting a large sum from them in the shape of a peace-offering, and lavished on the marriage festival alone an enormous portion of the money thus shamefully acquired. Some notion of the profusion of this feast may be formed from the statement of Rapin, that no less than thirty thousand dishes were served up at it. Nor was the cost occasioned to Henry confined solely to the marriage; for the Countess of Provence, before she left England, levied a heavy contribution, in the shape of a loan, from her royal son-in-law.

Henry found himself involved in many troubles soon after his return from his disastrous visit to France. His frequent exactions from his parliament as well as from his subjects, his confiscations of the properties of his nobles whenever even the shadow of an excuse could be offered to justify them, and his repeated violations of the

charters not only agreed to by his father, but accepted by himself, had so exhausted the patience of the nation, that the parliament began to entertain the intention of appointing four of its members to carry on the government. The plan formed appears to have been not only wise, but well digested.

Long and various were the troubles of the weak and extravagant king. Demands of money from the pope, and refusal of homage from the Prince of Wales and the King of Scotland, were followed by the determination of Louis of France to crush utterly the power of England in that country.

The death of Isabella, the queen-mother, wife to the Earl of Marche, who died in 1246, entailed fresh expense on her son, King Henry ; for her daughters and her sons by the Earl of March forthwith came to England, to claim, at the hands of their half-brother, that provision of which they stood in the greatest need, they being in want of the means of subsistence, their father having, to get rid of them, thrown them wholly on the generosity of the king. These half-brothers were Guy de Lusignan, William, and Athelmar. The arrival of these needy and ambitious claimants occasioned considerable embarrassment to Henry, and dissatisfaction to his subjects. Ambitious and vain-glorious, the pretensions of these three young men were not easily to be gratified ; and the English looked with anger on the expenses incurred for this purpose, which they considered as so much taken from themselves. The disagreements between Henry and his barons had now reached that point that when he again applied to parliament for money he met with stern reproaches only ; and finding he had little to hope for, he prorogued the parliament, and threw himself more than ever on his foreign favourites for advice and support. Being in great want of money, he determined on the sale of his jewels and plate, which were soon purchased by the citizens of London, to his great anger and mortification, they having pleaded poverty when he required their aid ; and, to punish them, he established a fair at Westminster, to last fifteen days, during which time all trading was strictly prohibited in London. His next measure was to decide on keeping his Christmas in the city, at the expense of the citizens, and to compel them to present him with valuable gifts on the new year's day, in addition to which he extorted from them two thousand pounds. Shortly after, a new and undignified measure for acquiring money suggested itself to him. It was no other than that of borrowing sums from the rich portion of his subjects on pleas known to be so false that they imposed on no

one; and, having condescended to this meanness, he exposed himself to denials and excuses from all to whom he applied.

In the early part of 1245 Eleanor gave birth to a second son, named Edmund. This prince entered the world under inauspicious circumstances; for the unpopularity of his mother, and the impoverished state of his father had increased; and such was the mal-administration of the laws, that open defiance was offered to them by men who fearlessly plundered whenever an occasion offered, and added insult and abuse to robbery. Nor were the persons of the king and queen held more sacred by them than those of their subjects; for when travelling through Hampshire their luggage was stolen, and themselves exposed to the low scurrility of a riotous mob. The impunity hitherto permitted, Henry determined should be put an end to; for evils that touched the great personally were sure in those days to draw an attention, if not a punishment, too often denied to those which fell on persons of less note. Made aware, by what had occurred to himself, of the supineness and pusillanimity of those appointed to carry the laws into effect, Henry resolved on administering justice himself, and presided on the judicial bench in Winchester; and this was perhaps the sole occasion, during his long reign, in which he evinced spirit and determination. That there was great need of such spirit was evident by the refusal of Lord Clifford to appear at the king's summons before him. *He not only treated the king's messenger with great insolence, but compelled him to eat the royal warrant, seal and all.* Henry for once showed a proper feeling, and punished Clifford severely.

The appointment of Boniface, uncle to Queen Eleanor, to the see of Canterbury, effected through her influence over her weak husband, and by her letter to the pope, occasioned general discontent in England. Boniface was universally deemed a very unworthy successor to St. Edmond, the late archbishop; and, as if to justify the prejudices entertained against him, he committed an act that drew down on him condemnation and hatred. He thought fit to make a visitation to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, which, being in the diocese of the Bishop of London, he had no right to interfere with. Here he insulted and beat the canons, who instantly appealed to the king. But Boniface had anticipated this measure, and, aided by the queen, he persuaded Henry to refuse to see them or to give them redress. So great was the indignation of the people on this occasion, that they pursued Boniface to Lambeth, threatening to put him to death, and lavishing

on him the most opprobrious epithets. This proof of the bad use made by Eleanor of the influence she possessed over Henry makes us less surprised at the hatred she incurred from her subjects, and that such a state of misrule could so long have continued seems, indeed, the only matter for wonder. Another cause for the dislike entertained against Eleanor was her conduct with regard to the dues on cargoes landed at Queenhithe, Rippa Reginae, or Queen's Wharf. These dues, which formed a portion of the revenues of the queens of England, were proportioned to the value of the freights, and Eleanor, regardless of justice and public opinion, used her influence to compel all ships laden with valuable merchandise to land their cargoes at Rotherhithe. This tyrannical proceeding occasioned great discontent, and kept up such ill will, that the queen at last sold her privilege to the king's brother, the Earl of Cornwall. Large as were the sums exacted by Eleanor and Henry from their subjects, both found themselves continually involved in pecuniary embarrassments by the reckless manner in which they lavished money on their foreign relations and favourites. The Countess of Provence, the mother of the queen, was a perpetual drain on the purse of her daughter, and even after the queen, by the death of her mother-in-law Isabella, in 1246, came into possession of her dowry, the demands from her mother kept her finances embarrassed. Some notion of the impoverished state of the king and queen may be formed, when it is known that Henry caused to be piewed an image of the Virgin Mary, for the purpose of raising money to pay the salaries of the officers of the Chapel Royal at Windsor. Nor was this the only extraordinary measure to which, in his pecuniary difficulties, he had recourse, for he descended to a meanness of which few, if any, of the reputable portion of his subjects would have been guilty,—namely, the soliciting money from all persons of distinction whom he encountered. The better to excite sympathy and compassion, the king and queen, putting aside the robes befitting their state, adopted simple ones, and, self-invited, dined at the tables of the rich,—a condescension so little valued, that those on whom it was conferred were not found willing to repay it by gifts expected by the sovereigns, in proof of loyalty to their persons.

The celebration of the nuptials of Margaret, the eldest daughter of the king and queen, with Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, was the sole gratifying event that interrupted the chain of distressing ones which marked the year 1251. This ceremony took place at York, and the archbishop of that see, with a generosity then become rare,

offered to defray all the expenses of the feasts to be given on the occasion—an offer peculiarly acceptable to Henry and Eleanor, and attended with great cost to the archbishop. The gorgeousness of the dresses worn at this ceremony are handed down to posterity by several authors; and those of the queen and the ladies of her court are said to have displayed not only extreme richness, but a fine taste for picturesque effect.

It was soon after the celebration of these nuptials that the return of Simon de Montfort from Gascony, where he had been some years governor, embittered the life of Henry, by the insolence and violence with which he presumed to treat him. Henry was compelled to recall Simon from Gascony, and to place his son and heir, Edward, only fourteen years of age, there in his stead. He soon, however, learned that the Gascons had formed the project to deliver Guienne to the King of Castile,—a project which, during the presence of Leicester, they dreaded to attempt, but which they now openly avowed; and the king determined to proceed to Guienne, to defeat their schemes. The queen was appointed regent, in conjunction with her brother-in-law, the Earl of Cornwall; and Henry and his train, including nearly all his barons, left England in August, for Bourdeaux, where he placed himself at the head of the army. Henry was blamed for vesting such power in the hands of the queen, whose unpopularity in his kingdom was so well known, that it was to be feared she might be tempted to make reprisals on those who had offended her. But, even had she not been appointed to the regency, and had the sole power been vested in Richard, Earl of Cornwall, so great was the influence of Eleanor over her sister Sancha, who ruled her husband almost, if not quite, as much as the queen did Henry, that the wishes of Eleanor would, in all probability, have been carried into effect as implicitly as if the whole power had been vested in her. Of all the policy of Eleanor, the having accomplished the marriage between her sister and the brother of the king was the most successful in its results; for by it she not only disarmed the opposition more than once exhibited by the Earl of Cornwall against her influence over the king, and especially in the overweening favours lavished on her own family, but drew him wholly to her side, by thus connecting him so closely with that very family. Hence, although the king expected that Eleanor would be guided by the advice of her co-regent, he knew that she had nothing to fear from the sister of her husband; and, when recovered from her confinement of a daughter, the Princess Catherine,—which event took place in

November,—she assumed the reins of government, fully determined to exercise only her own sovereign will.

One of the earliest proofs of her despotism was given by demanding of the citizens of London a considerable sum of money, on the plea *that it was due to her as the fines on the renewals of leases of the crown lands*, it being customary to pay the queens of England a certain voluntary fine on such occasions. But the money now demanded was on heavy fines unjustifiably exacted from the citizens by the king on various pretexts ; consequently, this new act of injustice and oppression on the part of the queen not only enraged those against whom it was directed, but forcibly reminded them of the former extortion of the king. Eleanor, angered at the resistance offered to her unjust demand, commanded the imprisonment of the sheriffs of London,—a proceeding that drew on her general indignation.

In 1255, the queen, by decree of the king, summoned a parliament to grant supplies to meet the war in Guienne ; but, disappointed in this attempt, she remitted from her own funds a considerable sum to Henry, who instructed his representatives at home to levy contributions on the Jews, whom he never spared when in need of money. With the gold thus extorted, Henry was now joined by the queen, who, having committed the regency to the Earl of Cornwall, set out for Bourdeaux with her sister Sancha, escorted by a vast train of lords and ladies, and commenced a system of reckless extravagance and light pleasures that bade fair soon to consume it.

The marriage of *Prince Edward with Eleanor of Castile* had lately been arranged, and it was decided that the queen was to accompany the prince, her son, to his nuptials. It was an extraordinary coincidence that Edward should marry the daughter of Joanna, who had been affianced to his father, who had broken off the engagement to wed Eleanor, and which breach had furnished the papal see with an excuse for harassing Henry with doubts of the legality of his marriage with Eleanor,—doubts so often and so powerfully urged, that it was only by the sacrifice of a large sum of money that bulls were obtained from the pope declaring the marriage of Henry and Eleanor valid. The nuptials of Prince Edward and Eleanor of Castile were celebrated with great pomp ; after which, the queen, with the youthful bride and bridegroom, returned to join King Henry, who had remained at Bourdeaux. Here an invitation from King Louis was sent to the royal party to visit his court ; and Louis and his queen, attended by a train of nobles, met his expected guests at Chartres, whence they conducted

them to Paris. Eleanor, with many faults, was remarkable for the strong affection she bore to her family ; hence, the meeting with her sister, the Queen of France, must have been peculiarly gratifying to her. The palace of the Old Temple, at Paris, was prepared for the reception of the royal party, who entered the French capital with a splendid train ; and, shortly after their arrival, Henry bestowed a very large sum on the French poor, and entertained with princely hospitality and regal magnificence his royal relatives. No less than three sovereigns sate at this splendid feast ; the King of Navarre, as well as St. Louis, being one of the guests. After a sojourn of a week at Paris, during which period the King and Queen of England received every honour from their royal hosts, they departed *en route* for their own dominions, and landed at Dover early in January, 1255. Their entry into London was made with unusual pomp and ceremony, and the citizens were again called on to assist in defraying a portion of the expense attending it.

About this period the pope invested Prince Edmund with the kingdom of Sicily, which caused infinite joy to his weak-minded father ; for Henry forgot, in the gratification of his paternal vanity, the difficulties in which this dangerous gift was likely to involve him. Nor was it long before he found himself on the eve of engaging in a war in support of the pretensions of Edmund, still a mere boy, to the great dissatisfaction of his subjects, who, already harassed by the frequent exactions of the king, looked with dread to future ones, likely to spring from this source. Before, however, Henry could embark in this new folly, intelligence reached him that the King and Queen of Scotland were held in durance by John Baliol, and the Comyns, regents during the minority of Alexander. This news was the more alarming from the circumstance that these persons were the next heirs to the crown, and filled the breast of Eleanor, always a most tender mother, with such terror for the safety of her daughter, that a long and severe illness was the consequence. Instead, therefore, of turning the British arms against those who disputed Prince Edmund's title to the sovereignty of Sicily, Henry, urged by his queen, undertook a campaign against the oppressors of the youthful Scottish monarchs ; but, before he could reach Scotland, the Earl of Gloucester had, in disguise, gained access to the castle, and had admitted his adherents, who restored the king and queen to liberty, after having suffered great hardships and indignities. They shortly after proceeded to Wark Castle, to join the queen, then confined there by indisposition, and remained with her until her

recovery enabled her to go to Woodstock, whither they accompanied her. Splendid were the festivities that followed the arrival of the royal party at Woodstock, which was soon after joined by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, lately elevated to sovereignty in the room of the late Emperor of Germany, and who had taken the title of King of the Romans. These festivities, attended with such heavy expense, were shortly followed by a famine, to which the people were less disposed to submit patiently, from its being generally believed to have originated in the vast sum drawn from England by the King of the Romans—a sum said to amount to seven hundred thousand pounds. And, as if this famine were not a sufficient calamity for the people, the queen again cluded from the city her queen gold—a clum always unpopular, but at this crisis of distress peculiarly so. Henry took an active part in extorting this demand, which greatly increased the dislike entertained by his subjects to him and the queen.

The death of the youthful Princess Catherine occasioned great sorrow to Eleanor and Henry, both of whom were fondly attached to their offspring, and for some time diverted their attention from pursuing the claims of Prince Edmund to the Sicilian throne. But when their regret had a little subsided, they again turned their views to this point, and, in order to bring over his refractory barons to grant money to establish his son's right, Henry had Edmund attired in regal robes, and, presenting him to them, appealed to their feelings in his behalf. But this effort to excite their sympathies was unsuccessful, and Henry was compelled to seek from the relatives of his queen the assistance denied him at home. While the misunderstanding of the sovereigns with their subjects daily increased, each endeavouring to circumscribe the power of the other, the Duke of Bretagne arrived in England to clum the hand of the Princess Beatrice, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence.

The Earl of Leicester was at this period wielding the power the possession of which Henry so much envied him, and it was a bitter humiliation to the king to feel that to this all powerful enemy, whom he feared no less than he hated, he owed the money required to keep up the regal state for the nuptials. Henry and Eleanor now began to dread the result of their impolitic measures, and, to secure themselves against the vengeance they anticipated, betook themselves to Windsor Castle and the Tower, both of which were more strongly fortified to resist the rebellious subjects whose outbreak was expected. The death of the queen's sister, Sancha, Queen of the Romans, in 1261, fell heavily

on the heart of Eleanor, who was deeply attached to her ; and this event, occurring when affairs in England wore so threatening an aspect, greatly added to the gloom of the queen. The royal pair gained a short respite from the fears that harassed them, through the absence of the Earl of Leicester from their kingdom ; but his return the following year renewed their alarm, and was quickly followed by his urging the barons to require the king to confirm the Oxford statutes, which he had violated.

On Prince Edward's return to England he committed one of those acts that have unfortunately cast an indelible stain on a character that had so many brilliant and noble qualities. The little importance attached to high principles of morality and probity in that age, of which so many examples were furnished him, cannot plead his justification for an action so inconsistent with common honesty as to merit the severest reprobation. Being aware that the queen, while suffering under some of those pecuniary difficulties which but too often were the result of her own and the king's extravagance, had placed her jewels, as security for a considerable sum of money, in the Bank of the Knights Templar, in which many persons deposited money and valuables both for safety as well as for loans, the prince, unable to discharge the long arrears of pay due to his army during the campaign in Wales, and anxious to retain them in force for anticipated emergencies which the troubled state of the kingdom menaced, bethought him of demanding of the head of the establishment of the treasury of the knights, to be shown the queen's jewels, alleging, as an excuse, a doubt of their being in safe custody. -He entered the bank, forced open all the chests deposited there, and possessing himself of the queen's jewels and ten thousand pounds in cash, he carried off his booty to Windsor. The historians of those times give us no reason to believe that this reprehensible conduct on the part of the heir to the crown met with any censure from the king or queen ; while a contemporary chronicler, Matthew Paris, gives but too many instances of the faults committed by Eleanor and her son, whenever opportunities were afforded them of interfering in the government, which the queen had helped to render so unpopular. Never was her unbounded influence over her weak and infatuated husband exercised for any good purpose ; while, on the contrary, it was opposed to the maintenance of those charters which could alone preserve a good understanding between the sovereign and his subjects, and the violation of which exposed the throne to frequent danger, and the kingdom to fearful commotions. The exactions and

cruelties perpetrated on the Jews during the reign of Henry cannot be perused without indignation and horror. The desire of plundering them was the incitement to many an outbreak; nor were leaders, even among the nobles, found wanting to head an infuriated mob, bent on pillage against an unoffending people, who were robbed, and, in many instances, murdered. It was on one of those occasions that the queen was so grossly insulted by an infuriated rabble, when the terrible onslaught on the Jews, led on by Baron Fitz John and Bucknell, took place, in which the lives of several hundreds of those unfortunate victims many of whom were among the most opulent of their persuasion, were sacrificed. Appalled by the shouts of the murderers and cries of the murdered, Eleanor, then inhabiting the Tower of London, accompanied by the ladies of her court, fled into the royal barge, and attempted to proceed to Windsor by water. The barge was no sooner descried by the maddened crowd, than they rushed in a dense mass to the bridge, uttering the most disgusting and fearful menaces against the terrified queen, to whom they applied the grossest terms of reproach and hatred, pelting the queen with filth, while others hurled down huge stones on the barge to destroy it. Seeing that her destruction would be inevitable if she persisted in proceeding, Eleanor was only saved by returning to the Tower, half dead with terror. This violent attack on his queen induced Henry to remove her and her children to France, where he left them under the protection of the queen her sister, and returned to face the troubles that menaced not only his throne, but his life, at home. Prince Edward had been, during this crisis, at Windsor, brooding with fiery anger, over the insult offered to his mother, which he impatiently longed to avenge. Nor was an opportunity long denied him, for the decision of the King of France, to whom the English barons had referred their complaints against Henry, not proving satisfactory to them, an open warfare was the result, and in the battle, fought at Northampton, the victory was on the royal side, and the eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, with several of the most powerful of the barons, were made prisoners.

The success attending the royal arms drew from the barons an offer of thirty thousand marks, if the king would grant a peace, but, on this occasion, Henry evinced more spirit than he had hitherto shown. He refused the offer, and the battle of Lewes was the result—a battle which would have decided the civil war in the total discomfiture of the army of the barons had not the fiery impetuosity of Prince Edward led him to throw away the brilliant advantage he had gained. He, at

the head of his cavalry, chased the retreating foes, animating his soldiers by the cry of Queen Eleanor's name, which he madly shouted, and at Croydon, where he came up with them, the lives of a vast number were sacrificed in revenge for the insult offered to his mother. While this imprudent pursuit was taking place, the absence of so considerable a portion of his best troops left Henry and the King of the Romans exposed; and the consequences were, that both were taken prisoners, and Edward, on his return to the battle-field, too late discovered the result of his own reckless conduct, and was compelled to yield himself a prisoner to Leicester, who sent him, with his father and uncle, to Wallingford, while the rest of the king's troops proceeded to Bristol Castle, of which they took possession. The queen instructed Sir Warren de Basingbourne, a devoted adherent of her son's, that the prince might be rescued, if Wallingford were surprised by the troops at Bristol. This brave knight no sooner received this intimation, than, with three hundred horse, he proceeded to Wallingford at night, and so vigorously attacked it at daybreak, that he won the outer wall in spite of the desperate defence made by the garrison. Alarmed for the result, the besieged answered from the inner wall, that if the object of their assailants was to get the prince, he should be shot to them by the mangonel, an engine of war, then in use for casting stones. This menace being heard by the prince, he sought permission to address his friends, and, from the wall, he declared that their persistence in the attack would cost him his life. They retired, greatly dispirited; but this attempt furnished an excuse for the Earl of Leicester to convey his royal prisoner to Kenilworth Castle, where the sister of Henry, the Countess of Leicester, was then residing.

The queen, though greatly disappointed by the failure of Sir Warren de Basingbourne's attempt to liberate the prince, was by no means disposed to remain inert while he was a captive. Her next effort was to hold a secret correspondence with the Lady Maud Mortimer, who instructed Edward to attempt his escape, when taking his daily exercise on horseback, by engaging in races with his attendants till he had too much fatigued their steeds to pursue him, while she would have a fleet courser concealed in a neighbouring grove. The prince adopted the project, gained his freedom, and joined his adherents. Meanwhile, Eleanor was not inactive, although frequently enjoined in the letters of Henry, dictated, no doubt, by Leicester, to take no step to change the state of affairs. With the money raised on her jewels, and other resources, she collected in France a powerful

army, and manned a fleet, to effect the liberation of her husband and his brother, the King of the Romans ; but, before they could land in England, the victory achieved by Prince Edward at the battle of Evesham rendered their services unnecessary. During this action the life of Henry, whom Leicester had placed in front of his troops, was exposed to great danger. Wounded in the shoulder, he was on the point of being killed by one of the soldiers of Edward, who believed him to be of the adverse side, when he called aloud, "I am your king—slay me not!" He was rescued from this dangerous position by an officer, who conducted him to his victorious son, who received him with joyful tenderness, knelt before him, and craved his paternal benediction.

Great and universal was the terror felt by the rebellious subjects of Henry, of the retribution that might be taken for the sufferings endured during fourteen months by the sovereign and his family. But, contrary to their expectations, the triumph of royalty was unstained by a single act of sanguinary vengeance. Of a nature never cruel, Henry better loved to punish the sins of his subjects through their monies than by bloodshed. Their late crimes of *lèse-majesté* furnished an excellent excuse for enriching his queen's finances at a heavy cost to theirs, and he exacted from his refractory barons such heavy fines to fill his own coffers as to reduce them to absolute poverty, and to drive them into a fresh outbreak under the son of Leicester, which might have occasioned new troubles, if not disasters, had not the queen then arrived, accompanied by Cardinal Ottoboni, the pope's legate, armed with excommunications against Leicester and his followers, which greatly aided in quelling the rising rebellion.

The tranquillity of the realm remained undisturbed until 1267, when the Earl of Gloucester headed a revolt and attacked the palace at Westminster, which the insurgents plundered and nearly destroyed, murdering with savage cruelty the royal domestics. There is little doubt that had the queen not been absent, her life would have been endangered on this occasion, for the outbreak was marked with more violence and ferocity than all former ones. The personal bravery of Prince Edward was of high importance during this rebellion; for he conquered by his own hand the last partisan of Leicester, Adam Gordon, a man no less remarkable for physical force than for high courage, and afterwards obtained his pardon through the queen.

Tranquillity being now restored to his father's dominions, Edward

resolved to put his long-intended project of engaging in the crusades into effect. Previous to his departing, the canonisation of Edward the Confessor took place, a ceremony solemnised with great pomp and state, and on which occasion the mortal remains of St. Edward were removed from the spot where they had reposed to a magnificent shrine prepared by Henry for their reception, and for the decoration of which the queen contributed some jewels of considerable value, and an image of the Virgin in silver. Prince Edward, on assuming the cross, was accompanied by his princess and his brother Edmund, leaving his children in England; and although Prince Edmund had only been some months wedded to a fair and youthful bride, the Lady Aveline, sole heiress to the Earl of Albemarle, he could not be dissuaded from joining his beloved brother. The lovely Aveline lived not to behold the return of her husband, for she sank into a premature grave when only one year a wife.

Death had been busy with the royal family during the first year of Prince Edward's absence from England; for not only was Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, uncle to the queen, summoned to another world, but the King of the Romans expired. This last blow fell so heavily on the king as greatly to impair his health, and shortly after he was seized by a fatal distemper when at Bury St. Edmund's, whither he had gone to restore tranquillity, some alarming riots having lately occurred in that neighbourhood. Aware of his own danger, he insisted on being removed to London, and arrived there in a dying state; his thoughts still anxiously bent on the welfare of the absent heir to his crown, he compelled the Earl of Gloucester to bind himself by an oath to preserve peace and order in the kingdom during the absence of the prince.

Henry departed this life in the night of November the 16th, 1272, after a reign of fifty-six years, and in his sixty-sixth year. Having appointed the queen regent, she, four days after the decease of her royal husband, caused the prince to be proclaimed king, by the title of Edward the First. The remains of the late sovereign were interred with great state and grandeur in Westminster Abbey, and the funeral expenses, which amounted to a large sum, were defrayed by the Knights Templar. When the obsequies of Henry had been performed, the barons assembled before the high altar of Westminster Abbey, and swore allegiance to their new monarch—an allegiance strictly kept by them, as well as the rest of his subjects, during his protracted absence in the crusade. A new grief was added to that of Eleanor for her



Joanna, Countess of Ponthieu, was born about the year 1244. She could scarcely have entered on her eleventh year when she was demanded in marriage by Henry the Third, King of England, for his eldest son, Prince Edward, then a youth of fifteen. The consent of her brother Alphonso, the reigning king of Castile, having been readily obtained, it was agreed by the contracting parties, that within a stipulated time the young prince should proceed, with his mother, Eleanor of Provence, to Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, in order to be united to his almost infant bride. Rapin, who wrote in 1725, informs us that in his time the scroll, sealed with gold, in which Alphonso gave his written consent to the union of his sister with the Prince of England, was still preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster.

At this period, Henry the Third was holding his court at Bourdeaux, from which place the young prince and his mother crossed the Pyrenees to Burgos, which city they reached on the 5th of August, 1254. Their arrival in the Castilian capital was celebrated with all those circumstances of gorgeous magnificence which were the characteristics of the middle ages, and for several weeks the fine old city of Burgos was the scene of successive tournaments and festivals. It was on one of these occasions that Prince Edward was dubbed a knight by his royal brother-in-law. Queen Eleanor was so delighted with her visit, that she remained there till the summer of the following year, when she re-crossed the Pyrenees, accompanied by her son and his infant bride, and rejoined her husband, King Henry.

King Henry kept his Christmas at Bourdeaux, where—determined not to be surpassed in magnificent hospitality by the Castilian monarch—he celebrated the espousals of his son and daughter-in-law with a splendour entailing such lavish expenditure, as to draw down upon him the indignant outcries of his English subjects. “The King,” says Daniel, “consumed all his treasure in these journeys, which was reckoned at two hundred and seventy thousand pounds, more than all the lands which he had in those countries were worth, had they been sold right out, which, when he was told of, he desired it might not be published to his disgrace.” Matthew Paris places the king’s expenses at the same enormous amount. He also tells us that when one of his confidential advisers remonstrated with him on his extravagance, Henry retorted, with his accustomed oath—“For the head of God, say no more of it, lest the very relation make men wonder, and stand amazed.”

From Bourdeaux the royal family of England, attended by a

numerous cavalcade, proceeded homewards by way of Paris, where, on their arrival, they were lodged by king Louis in the Palace of the Temple, which had recently been built. Occupying this vast building, Henry endeavoured to outvie the French monarch in the number and splendour of his entertainments. One festival in particular is recorded, which was so magnificent as to obtain for it the distinguishing title of the "Feast of Kings," the Kings of England, France, and Navarre, being present. There appears to have been an amicable contention between the two former sovereigns which should force the other to occupy the place of honour at the banquet. It ended, however, by Henry firmly insisting on his own inferiority, alleging, that being compelled to do homage to the French king for the territories which he held in his dominions, he could regard him in no other light than his sovereign.

In consequence of their youthful age, it was not till several years after their espousals that Edward was allowed to consummate his marriage with his lovely bride. For about two years the princess seems to have continued in England, but, in 1256, Prince Edward passed over with her to Bourdeaux, where she continued probably under the care of some of her relatives of France, or of her mother-in-law, till 1265, and while she there was completing her education, Edward was travelling and practising knightly exercises. We find Prince Edward, then in his twenty second year, distinguishing himself at jousts and tournaments at the different European courts, nor was it long afterwards that the fierce struggle between his father and the barons recalled him to England to discharge his filial duties, and to take a prominent part in the sanguinary fray. In 1265, Edward met his wife at Dover, where he landed, under the care of his mother, from France. When Edward pressed the cheek of his bride, she was still a mere child, and he himself was unknown to fame. When they now met, she stood before him in the full bloom and beauty of womanhood, nor, on his part, had he rendered himself undeserving of the fair hand and affectionate heart which he came to claim. Since they had last parted, he had earned for himself undying laurels. Young as he was, he had won the reputation of an accomplished warrior, and he now stood before her—worthy even of the love of Eleanor of Castile—in the proud light of the restorer of his father's rights—the champion of his haughty race—the gallant victor of Evesham!

The events which had taken place in the interval between their separation and re-union may be related in a few words. On his

arrival in England, the young prince had the misfortune of finding his father a mere cipher in the hands of the "twenty-four barons," who had usurped the sovereign power, and who, having formed an association among themselves, had sworn to stand steadfastly by each other at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. So absolute was their power, that Edward found himself compelled to take the famous oath,—which was likewise imposed on all the king's subjects under penalty of being declared public enemies,—that he would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons; and all this, as it was jesuitically stated, for the greater glory of God—the honour of the church—the service of the king—and the advantage of the kingdom.

In proportion, however, to their continuance in power, the barons began gradually to lose that popularity to which they owed their rise. It became but too evident that, in investing themselves with the sovereign power, their object was far less the reformation of the state than the aggrandisement of themselves and their families; and, moreover, their power being daily weakened by their own intestine jealousies and animosities, the young prince determined to seize the first opportunity of striking a bold stroke, which he hoped would restore his father to the authority which they had usurped from him. Fortunately, the pope was as little satisfied with the conduct of the twenty-four barons in ecclesiastical affairs as were the people of England themselves; and accordingly, with little difficulty, he was prevailed upon to absolve the prince, as well as the whole of the king's subjects, from the oath of obedience which they had taken to the barons.

Thus once more left a free agent, Edward took off the mask, and boldly challenged the authority of the barons. The result is well known. The horrors of civil war were again renewed, and, after a variety of successes, disasters, and negotiations—in which fortune, as usual, shifted her smiles from one side to the other—the two opposing armies met on the memorable field of Evesham; the royal forces being commanded by Prince Edward, and those of the barons by the celebrated Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

This nobleman had encamped his army at Evesham, where he was anxiously expecting the arrival of his son, Simon de Montfort, to whom he had sent directions to hasten to him by forced marches, with all the troops he could render available. Accordingly, De Montfort was hurrying to the relief of his father, when, at Kenilworth, he was suddenly surprised and attacked in his camp by Prince Edward, who he

had imagined was directing his whole force and attention against the Earl of Leicester at Evesham. The success of the prince was complete, the opposing army was scattered in all directions, and the Earl of Oxford, and several other noblemen, were taken prisoners, almost without a show of resistance.

Edward lost no time in improving his advantage, and this by adopting a very ingenious stratagem. Without allowing Leicester time to glean intelligence of his son's disaster, he divided his troops into two bodies, one of which he pushed forward along the road leading from Kenilworth to Evesham, with orders to carry in front of them the banners captured from De Montfort's army. He himself made a circuit with the other division of his forces, with the intention of attacking the enemy in another quarter. Leicester, experienced and accomplished as he was in the art of war, was completely deceived and taken by surprise. Observing a large force advancing from the very quarter from which he was anxiously straining his eyes to behold the approach of his son—perceiving, also, the friendly banners, the sight of which was so welcome to him—his only feelings were those of satisfaction at his orders having been so successfully and promptly obeyed. When at length the truth flashed upon him, and he perceived the great superiority and excellent disposition of the royalists, his first feeling seems to have been admiration of the talent by which he was outwitted. They had learned, he said, the art of war from him, and he added—"The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are the prince's!" The conflict lasted but a short time, and was attended with great slaughter. Leicester himself, while in the act of asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, as were also his eldest son, Henry, Hugh le Despencer, and about one hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen. The old king, Henry the Third, who for some time had been a prisoner in the hands of the rebels, had been purposely placed by them in front of the battle, and being completely clad in armour, it was impossible for his friends to identify him. In the heat of the action he received a wound, and would in all probability have been killed, had he not called out—"I am Henry of Winchester, your king!" Fortunately, his voice was recognised by his friends, and his gallant son having flown to his rescue, he was soon conducted to a place of safety.

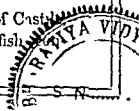
The battle of Evesham took place on the 12th of August, 1265, and, two months afterwards, on the 29th of October, the young princess arrived in England with her mother in law, Eleanor of Provence. She

landed at Dover, where she was received by her gallant lord, who conducted her not improbably to the same apartment in Dover Castle to which, exactly four hundred years afterwards, his unfortunate successor, Charles the First, led his fair bride, Henrietta Maria, after her arrival at Dover, and where, "wrapping his arms around her, he kissed her with many kisses" From Dover, Edward escorted his bride to Canterbury, where they were entertained with great splendour by the archbishop. They then continued their progress to London where the citizens celebrated their arrival with all kinds of pageants and rejoicings. Having, in the first instance, been lodged in the priory of St John's, near Smithfield, they afterwards took up their abode in the magnificent palace of the Savoy, in the Strand, which had recently been granted by Henry the Third to Peter of Savoy, uncle to his queen, Eleanor of Provence. The following year, the young princess was delivered of her first born, John, at Windsor Castle.

Much as the original character of Edward the First has been eulogised, the truth of history forbids us to represent him at this period of his life as faultless. On the contrary, during his young wife's abode in France, his intrigue with the Duchess of Gloucester involved the whole court in broils and dissensions, which did not cease till 1270, when he and the princess left the court, to proceed to Palestine.

Eleanor had been married about four years, when her warlike husband, purting to signalise himself once more in the field of arms, expressed his determination to take up the cross, and, with the aid of Louis, King of France (commonly known as St Louis), to make a grand simultaneous effort to expel the infidels for ever from the Holy Land. It was a campaign which threatened danger and death, in a variety of shapes, even to the strongest and the boldest. How little suited, therefore, was a young and delicate princess, nurtured in the lap of luxury, to encounter its hardships, its horrors, and its fatigues! So devoted, however, was Eleanor to her fiery lord, so all absorbing was the attachment which she bore him, that she expressed her unalterable determination to accompany him to the East, and to share the dangers which awaited him. In vain did her ladies endeavour to impress her with a sense of the folly and madness of the design. "Nothing," was her reply, "ought to part those whom God has joined, and the way from Syria to Heaven is as near, if not nearer, than from England or from my native Castile."

The principal charm, indeed, in the character of Eleanor of Castile was that heroic devotion, which, losing sight of all selfish



siderations, led her on every occasion to prefer death to absence from the object of her love. Whether the frail bark which contained her warlike lord was being tossed on the mountain-wave among the Balearic Isles;—whether he was daring death in the fierce struggles between the Crescent and the Cross, or among the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains;—whether his toilsome march lay over the sultry and unhealthy plains of Palestine, or whether

"Down the steep of Snowdon's shaggy side
He wound with toilsome march his long array,"

in every danger, and in every clime, his gentle consort was certain to be at his side. Wherever glittered the bristling spears of the warrior prince, there was ever to be seen, close by, the silken litter and the sweet smile of Eleanor of Castile.

In 1270, Edward set sail from Portsmouth, with the intention of joining his consort at Bourdeaux, whither she had proceeded about a month previously. From Bourdeaux he sailed for Tunis, where, on reaching the camp of the French king, he found Louis already dead from the unwholesomeness of the climate and the fatigues of the enterprise, and his army also greatly thinned by pestilence. Little discouraged, however, by these unlooked-for events, Edward continued his voyage with his consort to the Holy Land, where he greatly signalled himself; putting the garrison of Nazareth to the sword, routing the Saracens who came to their rescue, again defeating them in a pitched battle at Calone, in June, 1271, and, by various other acts of valour, reviving the glory of the English name in the East.

So great was the terror which his name struck into the Saracens, that they at last came to the determination of employing a person to assassinate him. "The prince," says Daniel, "was dangerously wounded in three places of his body, with a poisoned knife, by a treacherous assassin, of which wounds, when no medicine could cure him, his loving wife, Queen Eleanor, extracting the poison by sucking them, perfectly healed them." This story, it is to be feared, is more romantic than true. Edward, it seems, was one day lying on the couch in his tent, suffering from the extreme heat of the climate, when a messenger sent to demand an interview with him, pretending that he came from the Emir of Joppa, who was anxious to become a convert to the Christian faith. The messenger, who was in truth an emissary of the famous Old Man of the Mountain, who kept a band of assassins, was admitted, and while Edward was in the act of reading a letter which the stranger had placed in his hands, the latter made a sudden plunge

at the prince's heart with a poisoned poinard, but which Edward, perceiving his design, fortunately caught on his arm. The two were alone together at the time. Edward, in an instant, raised his foot, and felled the assassin to the ground with a kick on the breast. A fierce struggle ensued, in which the prince received another wound in the forehead. At this moment his attendants rushed into the tent, but before they had time to interfere, Edward had dispatched the assassin; according to some accounts, by knocking his brains out with a stool; according to others, by stabbing him with his own poniard.

Although the wound in the prince's arm was apparently a trifling one, it was not long before unfavourable appearances presented themselves; mortification threatened to ensue, and it was evident that his life was in the greatest danger. Hitherto, Eleanor had watched composedly by the bed-side of her sick husband, attending to his wants with that unwearying and tender care which was to be anticipated from the softness of her disposition and the devotedness of her love. When the truth, however, flashed upon her mind,—and when it was intimated to her that it was only by his undergoing a most painful surgical operation, that any hopes could be entertained of saving a life so precious to her,—she entirely lost her firmness and presence of mind in the anguish of her grief, and gave vent to a violent flood of tears. So entirely, indeed, was she overcome by her feelings, that the prince's brother, Edmund, and his favourite knight, John De Vesci,—fearing that her sobs and tears might have a prejudicial effect on the sufferer,—bore her, in spite of her struggles and entreaties, from the sick room. "It was better," they said, "that she should scream and cry, than that all England should mourn and lament."

The surgical operation, a fact too well authenticated to leave any room for the romance of the princess sucking the poison from the wound, produced the desired effect, and not long afterwards—having signed a truce with the sultan—Edward proceeded to Sicily, where he was entertained with great magnificence by Charles of Anjou, king of that island. Here Eleanor received the news of the death of her eldest child, Prince John, whom she left, three years before, in the bloom of childish beauty. Shortly afterwards, another messenger arrived, with the tidings that the old king, Henry the Third, had breathed his last at St. Edmundsbury, and that Edward, without opposition, had been proclaimed King of England in his stead.

Edward is said to have received the news of his first-born's death with great fortitude and composure; but, on being informed that his father was no more, he was deeply affected. Not a little surprised at

the very different manner in which he had received the intelligence of these two events, the King of Sicily asked him how it was that the death of an old man caused him so much anguish, whereas he had borne the loss of his promising child without shedding a tear. "The loss of infants," said Edward, "may be repaired by the same God that gave them ; but when a man has lost a good father, it is not in the course of nature for God to send him another."

From Sicily, the king and his consort proceeded to Rome, where they were most hospitably entertained by Pope Gregory the Tenth, and from thence to Bourdeaux, where they made a short stay. While at this place, they had a very narrow escape with their lives. "As the king and queen," says Daniel, "were talking together in their bed-chamber, a flash of lightning struck in at the window, passed by them, and killed two of their servants who were waiting upon them." From Bourdeaux, Edward proceeded overland to Calais, signalising himself at several tournaments during his progress, and on the 2nd of August, 1273, arrived safely with his queen at Dover. During her absence from England, Eleanor had become the mother of two children ; the one, a daughter, born in Syria, styled, from the place of her birth, Joanna of Acre ; and the other a son, who was born in the town of Maine, in France, on the 23rd of November, 1272.

The arrival of Edward in London was celebrated by the citizens with extraordinary splendour and rejoicings ; the more affluent of the merchants showering gold and silver on the royal retinue, as they passed under their windows in Cheapside. The exterior of the houses in the principal streets were hung with tapestry, and the conduits flowed with the choicest wines. On the 19th of August, Edward and his beautiful queen were crowned in Westminster Abbey ; the Archbishop of Canterbury performing the ceremony, and Alexander, King of Scotland, and all the principal nobility of both countries, taking a part in the ceremony, and afterwards assembling at a magnificent banquet in the great hall. "King Edward," we are told by an old writer, "was crowned and anointed as rightful heir of England, with much honour and worship, with his virtuous queen ; and after mass the king went to his palace to hold a royal feast, among all the peers that had done him honour and worship. And when he was set at his meat, King Alexander of Scotland came to do him service, and to worship, and a hundred knights with him, hoised and arrayed." Another old chronicler, Henry de Knyghton, informs us—"The King of Scotland was accompanied by a hundred knights on horseback, who, as soon as they had dismounted, turned their steeds loose for any one

to catch and keep that thought proper. Then came Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the king's nephew, and the Irish of Gloucester, Pembroke, and Warrene, each having in their company a hundred illustrious knights, wearing their lords' armour, and when they had alighted from their palfreys, they also set them free, that whoever chose might take them unquestioned. And the aqueduct in Cherpseyde poured forth white wine and red, like water, for those who would to drink at pleasure."

In 1227, when the Welsh flew to arms and when Edward—not displeased with the opportunity of making his former conquests in that principality absolute— assembled all his military tenants for the purpose of crushing that gallant people. Eleanor never for a moment hesitated to share his dangers and fatigues, and, accordingly, we find her the companion of her warlike consort during all his campaigns. In 1283 she gave birth to her daughter, the Princess Isabella, in Rhuddlan Castle, in Flintshire, and the following year, when she again promised to become a mother, Edward conducted her to the magnificent castle of Caernarvon, which he had recently built.

The gateway in Caernarvon Castle through which the beautiful queen passed to the apartments which had been provided her is still known as Queen Eleanor's gate. For the purpose of rendering her more secure against any attack of the Welsh barons, she was lodged in the Eagle Tower, a building of vast height, and of extremely grand and imposing appearance. "It was in cory," says Miss Strickland, "by no means too lofty for the security of the royal Eleanor and her expected infant, since most of the Snowdon barons still held out and the rest of the principality were fiercely chafing at the English curb. This consideration justifies the tradition which points out a little dark den built in the thickness of the walls as the chamber where the faithful queen gave birth to her son Edward. The chamber is twelve feet in length and eight in breadth and is without a fire place. Its discomforts were somewhat modified by hangings of tapestry, of which some marks of tenters still appear in the walls. Queen Eleanor was the first person who used tapestry as garniture for walls in England, and she never needed it more than in her dreary lying in chamber in Caernarvon Castle." The oaken cradle of the infant Edward—hung by rings and staples to two upright pieces of wood, of rude workmanship, but with considerable attempt at ornament—is still preserved in Caernarvon Castle. It has rockers, and is crowned by two buds probably either doves or eagles.

The queen was confined on the 26th of April 1284, at which period Edward was negotiating with the Welsh barons at Rhuddlan.

Castle He immediately hastened to Caernarvon, where, three days afterwards he was waited upon by a vast assemblage of the Welsh, who came to tender him their allegiance, and to implore him to confer on them a prince who should be a native of Wales, and who should speak the same language as themselves. Edward, without hesitation, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language. As soon as their acclamations of joy and promises of obedience had ceased, he ordered his infant son to be brought into the assembly, and, assuming them that he was a native of Wales, and that the first words he should be taught to speak should be Welsh, he presented him to them as their prince. By the death of Alphonso, the king's eldest son, young Edward shortly afterwards became heir to the English monarchy; the principality of Wales was annexed to the crown, and from this period it has given a title to the eldest son of the king of England. The Welsh ever bore an affection to the unfortunate Edward the Second; partly from his having been born amongst them, and partly from his having been their nominal prince. During his worst misfortunes they ever remained true to him, and after his death bewailed him in "lamentable songs."

Shortly after the birth of her son, Eleanor removed to Conway Castle, another of the magnificent structures erected by her husband in Wales. "Here," says Miss Strickland, "all the elegancies of an age further advanced in luxury than is generally supposed, were assembled round her. Many traces of her abode at Conway exist; among others, her state bedchamber retains some richness of ornament; it opens on a terrace commanding a beautiful view. Leading from the chamber is an arched recess, called by tradition Queen Eleanor's oriel—

' In her oriel there she was,
Closed well with royal glass,
Filled it was with imagery,
Every window by and bye "

It is raised by steps from the floor, and beautifully adorned with painted glass windows. Here the Queen of England, during her leisure on rising, sat to receive the ladies qualified to be presented to her, while her tirewomen combed and braided those long tresses which are the glory of a Spanish donna, and which her statues show Eleanor of Castile possessed."

In 1290, the unsettled state of affairs in Scotland rendered it imperative on Edward to hasten to that country. He had not only affianced his son Edward of Caernarvon to Margaret, the infant Queen of Scotland, but he had sent the bishop of Durham and his agents to

take possession of that country in their joint names, when he heard of the death of the young queen on a voyage to Norway. He had left his beloved queen in good health, but scarcely had he reached the Borders when he was overtaken by a messenger, who informed him that Eleanor was lying dangerously ill at Herdly near Grantham, in Lincolnshire. Forgetting the necessities of state, and the dictates of ambition, in the dread of losing one so dear to him, Edward, turning his back on Scotland, hurried rapidly to Herdly, but before he arrived, his faithful Eleanor had breathed her last.

The grief of Edward at losing his queen is said to have been violent in the extreme, and, indeed, the manner in which he solemnised her obsequies affords sufficient evidence of his admiration, his distress, and his love. During the thirteen days which the royal procession occupied in proceeding from Grantham to Westminster Abbey, the king never quitted the body, and in each town in which it rested caused it to be met by the ecclesiastics of the place, who carried it before the high altar of the cathedral or church, where they performed over it solemn requiems for the repose of the soul of the deceased. "The king," says Daniel, "in testimony of his great affection to her, and as memorials of her fidelity and virtues—in which she excelled all woman-land as much as she did in dignity—all along the road in the places where the body rested, erected godly crosses, engraven with her image." There were formerly thirteen of these beautiful memorials, of which those of Northampton and Waltham alone remain. The most celebrated of them—the work of Chivalry—was that at Charing Cross, so called from Edward's constantly calling his queen, *ma chere reine*—and this dear Queen's Cross stood nearly where the equestrian statue of Charles the First now stands. This interesting relic of a past age was unfortunately regarded by the fanatics as a relic of Popish superstition, and, in a moment of religious phrensy, was rased to the ground by an illiterate rabble.

"To our nation," says Walsingham, "Queen Eleanor was a loving mother, the column and pillar of the whole realm, therefore, to her glory, the king her husband caused all those famous trophies to be erected wherever her noble corse did rest, for he loved her above all earthly creatures. She was a godly and modest princess, full of pity, and one that showed much favour to the English nation, ready to relieve every man's grief that sustained wrong, and to make them friends that were at discord." Queen Eleanor died on the 29th of November, 1290, in the forty-seventh year of her age.

MARGUERITE OF FRANCE,

SECOND QUEEN OF EDWARD THE FIRST

THE disconsolate monarch Edward the First, who passed the earlier period of his widowerhood in devising and executing the most splendid memorials of his beloved Eleanor having left nothing undone that affection and grief could suggest to do honour to her memory sunk from a state of restless and active affliction to one of the most profound and morbid melancholy. Accustomed for years to the fond companionship the wise counsels and the ready sympathy of the most faultless of wives he pined in his lonely wretchedness and though actively engaged in the commencement of that war with Scotland which with little intermission occupied the remaining years of his reign nothing could drive from his heart the brooding sorrow that preyed upon him until at last he turned his thoughts to a second marriage.

Hearing much of the charms of Blanche daughter of Philip le Hardi the late and sister of Philip le Bel the present King of France Edward sent ambassadors to ascertain whether the reputation she had acquired was merited and with authority if such were the case to treat for her hand. The reports of her exquisite beauty being fully confirmed by those deputed to judge Edward became so enamoured of her yet unseen perfections that he entered upon the terms for the marriage with a haste and want of caution greatly out of keeping with his usual wise and thoughtful mode of proceeding.

Philip le Bel crafty and unprincipled resolved to take advantage of the anxiety of his brother in law elect to complete the match and declared that before he would consent Edward should settle the duchy of Guenne on any son he might have by Blanche after which it was to descend to the heirs of this son, finally reverting to England in the event of a failure of issue in that line. To this the King agreed and surrendered the duchy to Philip according to the forms of feudal tenure. No sooner however was this done than the faithless Philip refused to ratify the treaty. He persisted in retaining Guenne for himself and instead of his beautiful sister Blanche for whom he now contemplated a marriage with the eldest son of the Emperor of Austria substituted in



the marriage-treaty with Edward the name of Marguerite, a younger sister, and at that time a child of but eleven years of age.

A fierce war was the result of this breach of faith. The war lasted four years, and then pacific arrangements being made, the treaty of marriage was renewed, Marguerite having now attained a more marriageable age. The Pope interfered as arbitrator ; Guienne was restored to the English king ; and, with fifteen thousand pounds as her portion, which it is supposed her faithless brother intended to appropriate to himself, Marguerite was married to Edward at Canterbury, September 8th, 1299, when in her seventeenth year.

Scarcely, however, were the nuptials celebrated, when the struggles of William Wallace to accomplish the freedom of Scotland, demanded Edward's presence there. Placing the young queen, therefore, in the royal apartments of the Tower, and giving strict commands that no one from the city, where the small-pox then raged, should be permitted to approach her, for fear of infection, he set out with his son on his northern expedition.

The long-maintained struggle of Scotland against the English sway being for the time ended, the conquering monarch proceeded to Dunfermline to spend the Christmas. During the earlier part of the campaign, Marguerite had followed her husband in his warlike progress, but when the state of affairs and her situation (for she was about to become a mother) rendered her doing so no longer safe, Edward placed her at a village called Brotherton, on the banks of the Wharfe, in Yorkshire. Here she gave birth to a son, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Norfolk, from whom is lineally descended the noble family of Howard. From Brotherton she removed to Cawood (or Caworth) Castle, which was her principal residence, till summoned by Edward, in 1301, on the entire submission of Scotland, to join him at Dunfermline. From thence, after the Christmas festivities, the royal pair proceeded to London in triumph, the king, in his passage, removing the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer thither from York, where they had been holden for the preceding seven years, in order to be more within reach during the Scottish war.

That nothing might be wanting to complete Edward's triumph, Wallace, the most formidable of all the leaders Scotland had opposed to him, was captured, sentenced, and executed, and his head and quarters distributed through the various parts of Scotland.

In order to celebrate his victories, Edward now prepared a magnificent tournament, which is said to have been the most splendid of those times. On this occasion Prince Edward was solemnly invested

other important persons, taken prisoners. This was the last victory achieved against the Scots by the great "Sire Edward." While on his way to join his army, he was attacked with a violent illness at Burghen the Sands, and, feeling his end approaching, he summoned Prince Edward to receive his parting admonitions. In these he commanded "that he should carry his father's bones about with him in some coffin till he had marched through all Scotland and subdued all his enemies, for that none should be able to overcome him while his skeleton marched with him, that he should "love his brethren, Thomas and Edmund, but especially treat with tenderness and respect his mother Queeno Margaret."

Shortly after this, while his servants were raising him up to take some refreshment, he expired in their arms.

Of his person Carte gives us the following description:—He was one of the goodliest personages that could be seen, taller than most men, finely shaped, and well made, a lively, piercing eye, a manly beauty in his visage, a majestic air, mixed with an indescribable sweetness, a noble port, an easy and engaging manner of address, which, without lessening his dignity, was full of goodness and condescension, an inimitable gracefulness in his look, his speech, his gestures, and behaviour. In a word, all his exterior commanded reverence, and inspired at once affection and admiration." To this may be added, that he was seldom ill, never lost his teeth, nor was his sight dimmed by age. He was temperate, never wore his crown after his coronation, thinking it a burden, but going about in the plain garments of a citizen, excepting on festival days.

Marguerite's grief for his death was as sincere as had been her affliction. A curious record of this still exists in the document of John o'London, who was employed by the queen to chronicle the heroic actions of her husband, and her own great sorrow for his loss. Her first appearance in public after his death was in obedience to his dying commands, in order that no time might be lost in fulfilling the treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Isabella of France, Marguerite's niece. She assisted at the nuptial ceremony at Boulogne, after which she led a life of the utmost retirement, expending the greater part of her large dowry in charity and for the encouragement of art.

Edward the Second seems fully to have carried out his father's wishes with regard to his step-mother, for he ever treated her with the utmost affection and respect. She died at Marlborough Castle, in 1317, at the early age of thirty-six, and was buried at the Grey Friars' Church before the altar in the choir which she herself had built.

ISABELLA OF FRANCE,

QUEEN OF EDWARD THE SECOND

ISABELLA stands darkly prominent in English history as the only queen who murdered her husband. Shakspeare has immortalised her infamous renown by the title of 'She wolf of France'. Her character and name are thus, perhaps, more familiar to the public than those of any queen consort in the British annals. Her early years gave evidence of levity, but it was only when her passions and her thirst of domination had acquired their full growth, that she stood forth in all the genuine horrors of her nature, and stamped herself as the true daughter of the cruel Philip le Bel.

Isabella was the daughter of Philip le Bel, King of France, and Jane, Queen of Navarre. She was thus the offspring of two sovereigns in their own right, and her three brothers, Louis le Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel, were successively kings of France. No queen consort of England, therefore, came to the matrimonial throne with higher rank. She was born in the year 1295, and in 1303, when yet not quite nine years old, she was betrothed to Edward, Prince of Wales, the son of Edward the First. This betrothal took place in Paris, in presence of the King and Queen of France, the Count of Savoy and the Earl of Lincoln being the procurators on the part of the prince. Scarcely was Edward the First dead, when Edward of Caernarvon, now Edward the Second of England, was so impatient to complete his marriage with the fair young princess of France, still only in her fourteenth year, that before the funeral of the late king, his father, had taken place, he dispatched the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, the Earls of Pembroke and Lincoln, to obtain an early appointment of the day of marriage. Such was the characteristic weakness of Edward, who never stopped to reflect where his inclinations were concerned, that on learning the proposed day of celebration of the



nuptials at Boulogne, he at once assented to it, and hastened away from Scotland, where he was, and where his presence was imperatively necessary for fixing finally on his head the crown of that kingdom, for which his father had so long and sternly fought.

He had already recalled his fatal favourite Gaveston, and even with the most astounding imprudence appointed him guardian of the realm in his absence. This done, he set sail at the very earliest possible hour, on January 22nd, 1308, with the queen dowager, Marguerite, for Boulogne. There, his bride, accompanied by her royal parents and a more splendid assemblage of princes and nobles than had ever before been collected on such an occasion, had arrived before him. The next day, being the festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, the nuptials were celebrated with unexampled magnificence in the celebrated cathedral of that city. Besides the King and Queen of France, the parents of the bride, there were present, Louis, King of Navarre, the bride's brother, their mother having resigned that kingdom to his rule; the King and Queen of the Romans, the King of Sicily, the Archduke of Austria, Marie, the Queen Dowager of France, and Marguerite, the Queen Dowager of England, the aunt, and now about to become the mother-in-law of the bride.

The beauty of the royal pair is celebrated by the writers of the time, as filling all the spectators with admiration. Edward was regarded as the handsomest man in Europe, and Isabella, though still a mere girl, had by her beauty already won the name of Isabella the Fair. Flattering, however, as were all the externals of this scene—there lay inwardly all the elements of discontent, tempest, and ruin. The physical beauty of the young king concealed only a mind weak as water, and so constituted as to become the willing prey of aspiring and showy favourites; that of Isabella, a soul full of tiger-passions, before which, honour, principle, and humanity were as stubble in the whirlwind.

These ostensibly happy, but doomed persons were married on the 25th of January, and on the 7th of February, after great festivities. they embarked for England, and landed at Dover the same day.

Amongst those who waited to welcome the young couple to their kingdom, was the king's favourite, Piers Gaveston, whom Edward, the moment he saw him, flew to, and embraced in the most extravagant manner, calling him "brother." This scene was very disgusting to the queen and her uncles, the Counts of Valois and Evreux, who had accompanied her. Thus, at the moment when

put himself at the head of the disaffected nobility, who demanded, with arms in their hands, the final dismissal of Gaveston. The king fled with his favourite to Newcastle, taking the queen with him, and, hotly pursued by the victorious barons, they marched thence to Scarborough, leaving the queen to take care of herself, who retired to Tynemouth. Edward left Gaveston in possession of the almost impregnable castle of Scarborough, and hastened to levy forces in the midland counties. But Gaveston, apparently almost as weak as his monarch, soon suffered himself to fall into the hands of his enemies, who carried him to near Warwick, where they beheaded him at Blacklow hill.

The death of Gaveston, and the birth of a prince, the afterwards famous Edward the Third, when the queen his mother was only in her eighteenth year, gave a period of repose and joy to the realm. This continued for about ten years, during a great part of which, the queen becoming successively the mother of several children, so conducted herself as to win the highest good-will of the nation. Had she possessed a husband of a vigorous and virtuous character, it is probable that the worst parts of her nature would have lain dormant, and, from want of stimulus, have died out. But the feebleness and follies of her husband roused the darker passions of her soul, and, while the king involved himself in ruin, he gave occasion to the development of a criminality in her which has scarcely a parallel in history. The amiable mother, the acquiescent wife, the benevolent woman and queen, were by degrees metamorphosed into the insatiate reveller in adulterous passion, the relentless female fiend of cruelty, and of an infamy ostentatious and unabashed.

Through the influence of Isabella, the barons, who had risen in arms, and put Gaveston to death, were eventually pardoned. But scarcely was this effected, when, with his incurable proneness to fix his affections on a favourite, the king had supplied the place of Gaveston with a young man of the name of Despenser. Hugh Despenser was accomplished, brave, and amiable. He was of an ancient descent, but poor, and a dependent of the Earl of Lancaster. The earl himself had placed him about the court;—a fatal act, which ended in the earl's own destruction, that of the Despensers, of many other men, barons as well as commoners, and, finally, of the king himself.

No sooner did the king see Despenser, than he became, as it were, bewitched by him. He married him to the daughter of the late Earl of Gloucester, gave him immense estates, and also heaped on the older

Despenser, Hugh's father, patronage and property almost without limit. The barons conceived for the Despensers an intensity of hate and jealousy equal to that which they had borne to Gaveston. The Earl of Lancaster was the first to show hostility to his old follower. The nobles rose, burnt the castles of the Despensers, and demanded of the king their perpetual banishment. To this Edward was compelled to consent.

But in 1321, an incident occurred which produced the most extraordinary consequences. The queen, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, was refused by Lady Badlesmere, the wife of the castellan, admittance to her own castle of Leeds, in Kent. Badlesmere was absent, but on hearing his wife's deed, approved and confirmed it. All the indignant fire of the queen's nature was roused at this insult; she complained vehemently to the king that she had been grossly insulted, and six of her royal escort slain by a volley of arrows from the castle walls. Edward was compelled to vindicate his own honour and that of the queen. The Londoners were fired with enthusiasm to revenge the injury of this popular queen, and the insolent Lady Badlesmere was speedily lodged close prisoner in the Tower, after having seen the seneschal of the castle, Walter Colepepper, and eleven of the garrison, hanged before its gates.

But Badlesmere was one of the associated barons who had compelled Edward to banish the Despensers; therefore the barons, and the Earl of Lancaster at their head, before so prompt in their zeal for the queen, now lay still, and took no part in the demonstration against the Badlesmeres. The queen was piqued; and, fatally for all parties, she urged the king to employ the force, which he had successfully used against the Badlesmeres, to put down the baronial faction. This produced unforeseen results. The queen not only lost the favour of the barons, but the Despensers, encouraged by the disgrace of these their powerful enemies, immediately re-appeared on the scene. The king, flushed with his success at Leeds Castle, and urged on by the spirit of vengeance in the Despensers, pursued the barons, defeated them in a battle at Boroughbridge, took Lancaster, with ninety-five of his followers, and beheaded him at Pontefract.

The queen, during this warfare, took refuge in the Tower of London; and here the crowning circumstance of her fate curiously took place. Roger Mortimer, a daring chief of the Welsh border, was a prisoner in the Tower, under sentence of death, for his attack on the estates of the Despensers before their banishment. Probably the queen's hatred of the

Despensers was the first cause which gave the handsome and unprincipled Mortimer access to the presence of the queen, who, so fortunately for him, had thus taken up her abode in the Tower. But his own attractions in the eyes of Isabella, no doubt, speedily completed that blind passion in his favour which, from this moment, reigned in the heart of the queen. By her means he received at Christmas a reprieve; and, though he was convicted in the following year, 1323, of a treasonable plan of seizing not only the Tower, but Windsor and Wallingford, he yet, once more, was respited from death through the means of the queen's staunch adherents, Adam Orleton, and Beck, Bishop of Durham, and contrived to make his escape from prison, no doubt by aid out of the same quarter. He succeeded in reaching France; and, once safe, the besotted queen went to work with redoubled zeal for the destruction of his enemies, and the accomplishment of the scheme which they had unquestionably planned together.

She made a direct and open attack upon the Despensers, her own enemies and Mortimer's. She declared the Earl of Lancaster, who had fallen the victim of her own vengeance, to be a saint and martyr, sacrificed to the hatred of the Despensers. The Despensers, with a hearty return of ill-will, induced the king to deprive Isabella of her revenues. She complained to her brother, Charles le Bel, King of France: Charles threatened to seize on all the English provinces in France, and then Isabella artfully proposed to go out as mediatrix between her husband and brother. The *ruse* was successful. She escaped thus to France, where she soon induced the weak king to allow her eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales, to join her. This done, she threw off the mask, openly maintained the most scandalous connection with Mortimer, and refused to return to England, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of her husband.

Edward's letters to her, to her son, and to his royal brother-in-law at this time were of the most earnest and, in themselves, really reasonable character. But his close alliance with the Despensers was against him, and this afforded a most unanswerable plea to the queen. She demanded their dismissal; declared that she dared not trust herself within their reach; that the king himself could afford her no protection against them; that they openly disregarded his most positive commands; and that they only wanted to secure her in order to put her to death. With this valid plea against her husband, a plea fully sanctioned by the contempt of the nation for the king's weak slavery to his favourites, Isabella not only continued to set at defiance the

entreaties of Edward to return, but entered into marriage arrangements for her son, of a nature most utterly opposed to Edward's wishes. He himself was engaged in a double treaty, for the marriage of Prince Edward with the Infanta Elconora of Arragon, and of his eldest daughter, the Princess Eleanor, to the young King of Arragon. Isabella, however, regardless of the king's honour, and caring for nothing but those iniquitous plans which she had now matured with Mortimer for the deposition of the king her husband, sought to contract Edward to a daughter of the Count of Hainault, whose wife was Isabella's first cousin. This alliance she eventually accomplished.

But Isabella's conduct was become so flagrant, that all France resounded with it. The king, her brother, urged by the plain and solemn remonstrances of the King of England, and disgusted with Isabella's shameless behaviour, now ordered her to quit his kingdom and return to her husband, or he would make her return with shame. On this the guilty Isabella fled to Hainault, carrying her son Edward with her, and there threw herself, like a distressed queen of romance, on the protection and aid of that court. She was conducted to Valenciennes in great state, and there feasted for eight days, with much honour, when the Count's brother, Sir John of Hainault, vowed to become her champion against all her enemies. Amid his chivalrous vows, the valiant knight did not conceal it from his brother the Count, that he thought it a fine opportunity for making his fortune. He declared that he "believed God had inspired him with a desire for this enterprise for his advancement."

An armament soon collected at Dort, and on the 25th of September, 1326, the queen embarked, accompanied by Sir John Hainault, as commander of the forces, and Roger Mortimer, as commander of her English partisans. Her army consisted of 2757 soldiers Henry of Lancaster, and many other lords and knights, forgetting her offences against them in their still deeper hatred to the Despensers, flocked to her standard. The infamy of the queen, so notorious in France, was still unknown to the mass of the people on this side of the Channel. Their belief in her being an injured and persecuted queen and woman, blinded them to all attempts to unveil her real character, and from all sides streamed multitudes to her aid. Every Plantagenet in the kingdom deserted the king, and united in her support. The king, in consternation, proscribed all who had appeared in arms against him, and offered a thousand pounds for the Earl of Mortimer. Isabella replied by offering two thousand for the head of young Despenser.

The affrighted king fled to Bristol. The queen and all her forces went in brisk pursuit. The Londoners rose, and, in the queen's name, seized on the Tower, and put to death the Bishop of Exeter, whom the king had left in it; and named the king's boy-son, John of Eltham, Keeper of the city.

From Bristol the king fled in a boat for the Welsh shore, after seeing the elder Despenser executed before the walls with unheard-of barbarities. But, driven by a storm to the coast of Glamorganshire, Despenser and Baldrock, Bishop of Norwich, his companions, were seized in the woods of Llantressan; and Edward, helpless and hopeless, immediately surrendered himself, and was led in triumph to the queen, and delivered to her as her prisoner.

The hour was now come which was to display the full malignity of Isabella's nature. She had reached the object of her ambition. Power was in her hands, and she indulged in its exercise with a regardlessness of honour, nature, or feeling, which stripped the bandage from the eyes of her deluded subjects, and showed her as she was—a monster of cruelty and vice in the shape of a lovely woman.

Isabella set forward towards London, leading her husband, a despised and degraded captive, in her train. His favourite, Hugh Despenser, having witnessed from the walls of Bristol the dreadful death of his father, lost all spirit; and being tied, by order of Sir Thomas Wager, the Marshal of the queen's army, upon the back of the least and most sorry steed that could be found, was thus led, clothed in his dress of state, with the arms of Gloucester emblazoned upon his tabard, and with trumpets and cymbals sounding before him, an object of derision, through all the towns till they reached Hereford. There, nearly dead with grief, shame, and starvation—for he refused to eat, lest he should live till they reached London,—he was executed with many horrible cruelties, and crowned with nettles.

Mortimer now paraded before the public eye the favours of his royal mistress, and indulged his thirst for blood in the execution of his enemies. The Earl of Arundel had been already executed, with two other conspicuous persons, at Hereford. When the queen arrived in London, vast crowds passed out to meet and welcome her. She was attended by a huge body of troops and followers, and accompanied by her knight-errant, John of Hainault, and her paramour, Mortimer. A parliament was held on the 15th of December, in which the king was formally deposed, and his son proclaimed instead, by the title of Edward the Third.

The wretched king had already been compelled to resign the great seal to the delegate of the queen, Adam Orleton, the unprincipled Bishop of Hereford. This done, commissioners were sent to Kenilworth Castle, where the king was confined, with this base bishop and ready tool of Isabella at their head ; and here the king was compelled, under the vilest insults and abuse from Orleton, to strip himself of his regalia, which he did in much agony and prostration of mind. The young king was crowned at Westminster during Christmas, 1326. Sir John of Hainault was granted an annuity of four hundred marks, and, after much feasting, took his leave.

Parliament appointed a regency of twelve peers and prelates, for the guardianship of the youthful sovereign and the nation ; but Isabella, her paramour, Mortimer, and her base creature, Bishop Orleton, seized on the reins of government, and acted as they pleased.

From this time forward, the path of Isabella was one steep descent into crime and eternal infamy. The Scots, who had found an opponent in Edward the Second very different from his father, who had been a thorn in their side all his days, now thought it a fair opportunity to make an inroad. Young Edward marched boldly against them, leaving Isabella and Mortimer to enjoy the power at home.

That power was employed to perpetrate one of the blackest deeds in history. The poor captive king continued to implore the queen, in most moving letters, that he might be permitted to see her and his son ; but no feeling of compassion could now touch that savage heart. Learning that the Earl of Lancaster had become softened by the situation of his late monarch, and inclined to treat him with kindness, she removed him from Kenilworth, and gave him into the hands of Sir John Maltravers. Sir John, a hardened tool, put him under the control of two humbler, if not baser tools. These fellows, Gurney and Ogle, conducted him, by night-journeys, in thin clothing, and suffering intensely from the cold, to Corfe Castle, thence to Bristol, and thence, again, for fear of the public, to Berkeley Castle. These monsters employed the most refined cruelties to torture their unhappy, deposed sovereign. They deprived him of sleep, crowned him with hay in derision, and shaved him in an open field with muddy water from a ditch. One dark night, towards the end of September, they completed their devilish work, by scorching his intestines with a hot iron. His piercing shrieks and screams of anguish startled numbers in the neighbouring town from their sleep ; "and," says Holinshed, "they prayed

London, whence, a few hours after his arrival, he was conducted to Tyburn, and hanged, being the first criminal that suffered on that notorious gallows.

Edward confined his sanguinary and vicious mother in Castle Rising, in Norfolk, where he sometimes visited her. She was in her six-and-thirtieth year when she entered her prison, and she continued there till she was sixty-three, suffering a captivity of twenty-seven years. Such was in her "the ruling passion strong in death," that she chose to be buried in Grey Friars Church, Newgate, London, by the side of Mortimer, and such her disgusting dissimulation, that she ordered the heart of her murdered husband to be laid on her breast.

Thus ended the strange, and for the greater part of her life, the revolting career of this "She-Wolf of France." Besides Edward the Third, Isabella had three other children by Edward the Second, John of Eltham, and the Princesses Eleanor and Joanna.

PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT,

CONSORT OF EDWARD THE THIRD

HAINAU—or, as we usually spell it, Hainault—had the honour of giving birth to one of the best queens consort which England ever possessed. She was the daughter of William the Third, surnamed the Good, Count of Hainau and Holland. Her mother was Jane of Valois, daughter of Charles of France, Count de Valois, and sister of that Philip of Valois to whom Edward subsequently proved so injurious an antagonist. During, therefore, all the long warfare which occurred between France and England, prior to the year 1350, Philippa could never see a husband triumph but at the expense of an uncle. After that period, the monarch who succeeded to the throne was, in one degree, less closely allied to her, yet in the captive, John the Good, she possessed a cousin-german. In those days, however, when the most abominable violations of the claims of the closest consanguinity were wilfully practised with a frequency which rendered mankind habituated to the contemplation of them, Philippa probably did not find her conscience much burdened by her husband's infraction of her own ties of lineage.

Edward's iniquitous mother, Isabella of France, was, for her own selfish and wicked purposes, the origin of his marriage with Philippa. When this vile woman, or she wolf, as she was called, quitted England, in order to organise on the continent a conspiracy for the subversion of her weak and unfortunate husband from his throne, she cared little at what price, or at whose cost and sacrifice, she obtained countenance and cordjutors. For this purpose, one of her first expedients was to affiance her son Edward, then a boy whose age was less than fifteen years, to the daughter of any powerful nobleman who would abet her bad cause. The ally she required she found in William the Good. Edward at an early age had taken refuge at the court of Hainault.



with his mother, and there a mutual attachment sprung up between Philippa and himself, and thus, by a strange dispensation of fortune, the vices of the mother were the instruments for providing the son with a virtuous, rational, active, and affectionate wife.

But though the betrothal took place at Valenciennes in October, 1327, the marriage did not occur until January, 1328, at York. At this period he was still under the domination of his mother and the infamous Mortimer, who appropriated to themselves all the power and the revenues of the state. With little pomp, therefore, his union must have been celebrated, had not his bride, who was the daughter of one of the richest princes of that time, arrived in England with a splendid retinue and all the other accessories of opulence. Thanks, therefore, to this assistance, and to the attendance of many of the nobility, the ceremony of the marriage was performed with a decent parade. Thus, from the very beginning of his life until the end, one of the most prominent features in the career of this redoubted conqueror was his poverty. In vain he appears to have strained nets, and to have violated acts, to have systematised plunder under the title of purveyance, to have infringed all the rights of property, and all the few privileges which the subjects then possessed, to have taxed, traded, begged, borrowed, stolen, and even pawned his own person to his creditors—still the mighty Edward and his hungry court seem always to have been half clothed and half fed.

For nearly two years after his marriage Edward still remained under the sinister influence of Isabella and Mortimer. But in the autumn of 1330 he undertook one of those enterprises which excite in its favour the interest and sympathy of every reader. Being as he was, not yet eighteen, he resolved to rid himself of the pernicious control of his vicious mother and her usurping and detestable paramour, when he, the sovereign, to obtain this end, was compelled to work as secretly and darkly as if he had been some fell conspirator seeking to destroy the rightful occupant of the throne. With so much prudence did he mature his plans, and with so much spirit execute them, that the blow fell on the base Mortimer like a thunderbolt, and without even the power to attempt resistance, he was made prisoner in Nottingham Castle. But then the lawless disposition of Edward evinced itself, for, prompted equally by impatience and his despotic tendency, he contrived to do that which might have appeared to have been impracticable—that is, he actually succeeded in making Mortimer, the murderer, the traitor, the perpetrator of every crime most meriting capital punishment.

beneficial intercourse ; while the example of the queen promoted mutual respect between them. Edward the Third did not often take part in these visits to Norwich, which were generally paid by the queen while her husband spent some days with his guilty and miserable mother at Castle Rising, in Norfolk,—a strong proof that he did not consider Isabella a fit companion for his Philippa.

“ It is likely that the establishment of the Flemish artists in England had some connection with the visit that Jeanne of Valois, Countess of Hainault, paid to her royal daughter in the autumn of 1331. The mother of Philippa was a wise and good woman, who loved peace, and who promoted the peaceful arts. During her sojourn in England, she further strengthened the beneficial alliance between England and the Low Countries, by negotiating a marriage between the king's sister, Eleanora, and the Duke of Gueldres, which was soon after celebrated.”

In 1333, Edward, while besieging Berwick, found his queen Philippa actually besieged by Douglas in Bambrough Castle ; and, exasperated at this, he carried on the war with such reckless ferocity, that he not only soon relieved Bambrough, but added Berwick, by an act of bloody perfidy—the murder of the two young Seatons, sons of the Governor—permanently to the British Crown.

At the period to which we have advanced (1337), occurred an incident which exercised so important an influence in the subsequent career of Edward and Philippa, that it must be narrated distinctly, though briefly. We refer to the claim preferred by Edward to the throne of France—a long premeditated deed, which not only shaped his future course, but dispersed throughout the English nation the seeds of actions and passions which, even in this day, are not wholly extinct.

Philip the Fourth of France, surnamed the Fair, who was the maternal grandfather of Edward, left three sons, each of whom, in his turn, reigned for a brief time ; their names were Louis le Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles le Bel. The last of these kings, all of whom were uncles of Edward, died on the 1st of February, 1328, leaving no sons, but two daughters. Thus was extinguished the direct male line of the elder branch of the Capets ; and from this failure Edward originated his claim to the throne of France, as the *grandson* of Philip the Fair. But the *nephew* of this sovereign pretended a prior right to it, in virtue of his male descent ; and he appealed to the Salique law to justify his demand. The nation admitted the validity of his plea, and Philip de Valois was crowned with universal assent.

The ambitious and crafty Edward was then in a dilemma ; for if he recognised the Salique law, Philip must continue to reign ; and, if he disputed it, the daughters of his uncles took precedence of him. Now, as all together nearly half-a-dozen of them happened to exist, his chance of succession became wonderfully and almost invisibly attenuated, if he ever allowed any of his fair but unhappily multitudinous cousins to clutch the sceptre. Had only one existed, he might perhaps have fancied that he could maintain her celibacy, and himself have lived in hope ; but the direful plurality made hope impossible.

Nearly ten years elapsed before he could solve this difficulty. At length, in the year 1337, his ruminations gave birth to the paradox, that though the Salique law operated to prevent a female from succeeding to the throne, it did not prevent her from transmitting the succession to a male heir ; and therefore, as son and representative of Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he was now rightful king of France. This clumsy and audacious invention was the happiest expedient which even the ingenious Edward could find to fulfil the double purpose of excluding both classes of his competitors, and of substantiating his own claims to the throne. *Nothing can give a more forcible idea of the badness of his cause than the version which he employed to enforce it.* Yet so licentious and insensible was his ambition, that upon these preposterous pleas he plunged the two people into those furious wars which begot national antipathies, not yet extinct.

In 1338 Edward crossed over into Flanders with his forces, preparatory to his invasion of France—an invasion which occupied nearly all the life of this monarch, and did not cease till 1374. These wars added much to the military fame and domestic exertions of England. During them the great victory of Crecy was achieved, and the Black Prince won his fame. But the portion which Queen Philippa had in them lies in a small compass, yet is fuller of true glory than all the exploits of her husband and son.

In less than two months after the battle of Crecy—that is, on the 17th of October—was fought the battle of Neville's Cross, in England. Froissart gives Queen Philippa the credit of this great victory over the Scots, and it is thus related by a modern historian :—"It was now Philippa's turn to do battle royal with a king. As a diversion in favour of France, David of Scotland advanced into England a fortnight after the battle of Crecy, and burned the suburbs of York. At this juncture, Philippa herself hastened to the relief of her northern subjects. Froissart has detailed with great spirit the brilliant conduct of the

queen at this crisis : 'The Queen of England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, in order to show that she was in earnest about it, came herself to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She took up her residence there, to wait for her forces. On the morrow, the King of Scots, with full forty thousand men, advanced within three short miles of the town of Newcastle ; he sent to inform the queen, that if her men were willing to come forth from the town, he would wait and give them battle. Philippa answered, that she accepted his offer, and that her bairns would risk their lives for the realm of their lord their king.'

"The queen's army drew up in order for battle at Neville's Cross. Philippa advanced among them mounted on her white charger, and entreating her men to do their duty well in defending the honour of their lord the king, and urged them for the love of God to fight manfully. They promised that they would acquit themselves loyally to the utmost of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in person. The queen then took her leave of them, and recommended them to the care of God and St. George.

"There is no vulgar personal bravado of the fighting woman in the character of Philippa. Her courage was wholly moral courage, and her feminine feelings of mercy and tenderness led her, when she had done all that a great queen could do by encouraging her army, to withdraw from the work of carnage, and pray for the invaded kingdom while the battle joined.

"The English archers gained the battle, which was fought on the lands of Lord Neville. King David was taken prisoner on his homeward retreat, but not without making the most gallant resistance, which, Knighton says, was terrific, knowing the miseries which his captivity would cause his country. He dashed his gauntlet on his adversary's mouth when called on to surrender, and knocked out several of his teeth. Copeland, his captor, kept his temper, and succeeded in securing him alone.

"When the Queen of England, who had tarried in Newcastle while the battle was fought, heard that her army had won the victory, she mounted on her white palfrey, and went to the battle-field. She was informed on the way that the King of Scots was the prisoner of a squire named John Copeland, who had rode off with him no one knew whither. The queen ordered him to be sought out, and told him that he had done that which was not agreeable to her, in carrying off her prisoner without leave. All the rest of the day the queen and her

a violent ground-swell, which, rising at the moment she was about to embark, rent the ship in pieces,—she arrived in safety.

At this period Richard was sixteen; Anne, a year younger. He is described as “the loveliest youth that the eye could behold,” singularly fond of splendour and magnificence, generous and munificent; “fair, and of a ruddy complexion, well made, finely shaped, somewhat taller than the middle size, and extremely handsome.” He had a lisp in his speech which would have “become a lady better, and an hastiness of temper, which subjected him to some inconveniences; but he had an infinite deal of good-nature, great politeness, and a candour that could not be enough admired.”

But Richard had been brought up by his mother and her sons in the most lavish indulgence, and in the most fatal ideas of his own importance.

As to the person of the young queen, it is more difficult to form a correct notion; she is repeatedly called “the beauteous queen;” but the portraits that exist of her do not give an idea of great loveliness. Her dress seems to have been more remarkable for singularity than for elegance or taste. Stow tells us that the female fashion of the day (which she introduced) was a high head-dress, two feet high and as many wide, built of wire and pasteboard, and with piked horns, and a long training gown; it seems, however, that they occasionally wore hoods instead of these wide-spreading and monstrous *coiffures*, which must have been equally ridiculous and unbecoming. The Church denounced them as the “moony tire” mentioned by Ezekiel, and very possibly, as they were brought from the East by the Crusaders. Side-saddles (more resembling pillions than the side-saddles of the present day) were also brought into England by her; and pins, such as are now in use, have been said to have been introduced by her, though pins were certainly common long before.

Nothing could exceed the splendour that attended the royal bride’s entrance into London; she was met by the Goldsmiths’ Company, splendidly attired. At the Fountain in Cheapside the citizens presented to her and to the king a gold crown, of great value each; and when the procession had proceeded a little further, a table of gold, with a representation of the Trinity richly embossed or chased upon it—worth about ten thousand pounds of the present money—was offered to Richard, and to the queen a table of equal value, on which was displayed a figure of St. Anne.

The marriage of the royal couple took place at the conclusion of the

Christmas holidays "Shee was," says Speed, "with great pompe and glorie at the same time crowned queene by the hand of William Courtney (a younger sonne of the Earle of Devonshire), Bishop of London, lately promoted from London to the see of Canterbury, at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster."

Great were the rejoicings and splendid the festivities which followed these events, and tournaments were held for several successive days. It was at this period that the royal bride obtained the title of "good Queen Anne," for her intercession with Richard that a general pardon should be granted to the people, who since the rebellion of Wat Tyler had been subjected to continual severities and executions.

Shortly after the marriage and coronation of the queen, parliament, "which by this great lady's arrivall was interrupted and prorogued," re-assembled, the grant of a subsidy to defray the various expenses demanded, and "many things concerning the excesse of apparell," &c. "were wholesomely enacted,"¹—with what advantage a few extracts will show. Holinshed mentions one coat belonging to the king which was so covered with gold and jewels as to cost the sum of thirty thousand marks, while Sir John Arundel was thought even to surpass the king in magnificence of attire, having no less than fifty two rich suits of cloth of gold tissue. Camden tells us, that the commons "were besotted in excesse of apparell, in white surcoates reaching to their loines, some in a garment reaching to their heeles, close before, and strowting out on their sides, so that on the back they make men seeme women, and thus they called, by a ridiculous name, *gowne*, their hoods a little tied under the chin, and buttoned like the woman's, but set with gold, silver, and pretious stones, their hriepippes² reach to their heeles, all jagged. They have another weede of silke, which they call a *paltock*,³ their hose are of two colours, or pied, with more, which, with hutchets (which they call *herlots*), they tie to their paltocks, without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and silver, some worth twenty marks, their shoes and pattens are snouted and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call *crackowes*, resembling the devil's claws, which were fastened to the knees with chaimes of gold and silver."

There is no doubt but that Anne made use of her influence over the king to save the life of Wickliffe under the persecutions with which he was pursued, and that the cause of the reformed religion was favoured

¹ Speed.

² Tippets hanging down in front.

³ A close jacket.



alike by her and by her mother-in law Joanna, Princess of Wales, whose power over the yielding though impetuous nature of her son was so well employed in 1386, when civil war threatened to embroil the country, owing to a quarrel between the king and his uncle, the haughty and arrogant John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who was informed that Richard intended to have him arrested and tried on some capital points before Sir Robert Trevisan, a man entirely in the monarch's interest. That there was some truth in the report is certain, and that those about the king were most anxious to promote the arrest is not less positive. "Neverthelesse, the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their countrie's miseries and civill combustions, were made voide by the great diligence of the king's mother, the Princesse Joyn, who spared not her continuall pynes and expenses, in travailing betweene the king and the duke (albeit she was exceeding tender of complexion, and scarce able to beare her own bodie's weight through corpulency), till they were fully reconciled."¹

The result of her interference was doubly happy, occurring, as it did, at a moment when England was threatened with invasion by Charles the Sixth of France, who, as Speed quaintly says, was "a yong and foolish pince, who, having in his treasury, left to him by his prudent father, eightene millions of crownes and being, moreover, set on fire with an inconsiderate love of glory, rather than upon any sound advice (though some impute the counsell to the sad admirall, John de Vienne), would needs undertake the conquest of our country. These newes stirred all the limbes and humours thereof, though the event (God not favouring the enterprise) was but like that of the mountaine, which, after long travaile, brought forth a ridiculous mouse. Neverthelesse it had beene a most desperate season for a civill warre to have broken forth in England."

An event which occurred during Richard's campaign in Scotland, was destined to end for ever the influence of Joanna. Lord Stafford, son to the Earl of Stafford, being sent by the king with messages to Anne (who had appointed him her knight, and shown him many well-merited marks of favour), he was met at York by Sir John Holland, the king's half brother, who having long entertained towards him the most violent jealousy, partly on account of the adoration shown him by the army, and partly from the queen's regard, sought a quarrel with him, the ostensible cause of which was that Lord Stafford's archers had, while protecting a Bohemian knight, an adherent of the queen's, slain

¹ Speed.

queen, in the impeachment and execution of Sir Simon Burley, for whom she had ever entertained a warm and constant friendship. The Duke of Gloucester, enraged at the insult offered by the king, queen, and Duke of Ireland to his kinswoman, resolved to be avenged; and after much plotting and underhand dealing on both sides, this powerful and unscrupulous noble, for whom Richard, king though he was called, was no match either in strength of position or authority, accomplished the destruction of several of the king's most attached adherents, who were ignominiously executed at Tyburn by having their throats cut; "Sir Simon Burley onely had the worship to have his head stricken off. Loe! the noble respect which the gentle lords had to justice and amendment."

It is difficult to conceive a position more painful and humiliating than the one occupied by Richard at this period. Not only powerless, but possessing not even the shadow of power, he was treated with open disrespect by the insolent nobles, who, headed by Gloucester, had entirely usurped the regal authority, making him a cipher in his own kingdom, and leaving him not so much as the means to keep up the semblance of a court or royal household. He and his queen chiefly at this period resided at Eltham and Shene, so called by Edward the Confessor, from the lonely landscape around it. But even here he could not escape from a sense of his thralldom. The queen had also to suffer from the persecutions which were carried on against her attendants, many of whom were sacrificed without justice or mercy; and that, probably, less on account of their being foreigners, than on account of their Lollardism. Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, who, judging from the steps taken by Anne with regard to his divorce and second inmarriage, seems to have been as great a favourite with her as with Richard, had, like several others, fled to the continent, where he died in 1392, at Brabant, having been mortally wounded in a boar-hunt.

Richard had by this time attained his twenty-second year; and weary of the ignoble restraints imposed upon him, he resolved to shake off the fetters that weighed upon him, and declare himself ruler of his own kingdom. He was encouraged in this resolve by the example of Charles the Sixth of France, who, from being kept under the closest tutelage by his uncles, had, by a sudden effort, freed himself from their authority and established his right to govern alone.

Accordingly, on the 3d May, 1389, at an extraordinary council held at the Easter holidays, the king, to the great surprise of the assembled

lords, rose and demanded "What age he was of?" and on receiving their reply, he proceeded to declare that "he was certainly of age to govern his own house, family, and kingdom, since every man in the nation was admitted earlier to the management of his estate and affairs, and he saw no reason why his condition should be worse than theirs, and why he should be denied a right which the law gave to the merriest of his subjects"

The lords, in considerable confusion, replying that he surely had a right to take the command of the kingdom, he continued, "that he had long enough been under the management of tutors, and not suffered to do the least thing without them, but he would now remove them from his counsel and manage his own affairs" He then proceeded to displace the Archbishop of York, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Warwick, Bishop of Hereford, and Earl of Arundel, with all the other officers of state appointed by Gloucester, and to bestow their appointments on persons selected by himself. He issued proclamations calculated to conciliate and reassure the people, and such were the good effects of these wise measures that in spite of all Gloucester's endeavours to excite a spirit of rebellion and opposition, he could not succeed in disposing the nation against their youthful monarch. The Duke of Lancaster returning from his Spanish expedition at this period, he proceeded to Reading where the king then was, "as well to present his dutie to his soveraigne, as to be an author of love and peace betweene the king and lords" which he graciously effected, as seeming to addict his mind to offices of pietie and publique benefit" Gloucester was included in this peacemaking business, but we may guess how much of cordiality subsisted between uncle and nephew

Richard, who, notwithstanding the mediation of Lancaster, was by no means desirous of returning him in England, bestowed upon him the duchies of Aquitaine and Guienne. A grand festival and tournament took place on this occasion. At the same time, his son, Henry Bolingbroke, departed for the wars in Prussia, where his presence was much more desirable than in the dominions of his royal cousin. Little of importance occurred from this period till the year 1392, when Richard demanding from the citizens the loan of a thousand pounds, they had not only refused to grant it themselves, but had beaten and brutally ill used a Lombard who had offered to lend the sum. For these and other disorders their liberties were seized, their magistracy dissolved, and the mayor and some of the principal officers imprisoned

These active measures brought the Londoners to their senses; they humbly entreated for forgiveness, and by the earnest intercession of the queen, Richard, after much persuasion, consented to pardon them. Upon this occasion they prepared a magnificent entertainment to conciliate the offended monarch. A body of citizens, to the number of about four hundred, all dressed in splendid livery and well mounted, met the king and queen at Blackheath, where they were on their way to Westminster, and besought them to pass through London, to which the king finally agreed. They then escorted the royal couple to London bridge, where (says Fabian) Richard "was presented with two fayre stedes, trapped in ryche clothe of golde, partyd of redde and whyte," (one was for the queen,) "then rydyng on til he came to Standarde in Chepe, the cytezens of the cyte standyng upon eyther syde of the stotes in theyr lyverys, and cryeng Kyng Richarde, Kyng Richarde, and at theyr backes the wyndowys and wallys hanged with al ryche tapettes and clothes arasse in moste goodlye and shewyng wyse. And at the syde standarde in Chepe, was ordeyned a sumptuose stage, in the whych were sette divers personages in ryche apparel, amonge the whyche an aungell was ordeyned, whiche sette a ryche crowne of golde garnysched wyth stone and perle uppon the kyng's hede, and another on the queen's as they passed by."

This was but a small portion of the pageant prepared for this great occasion, there were mysteries and mummings, music and merriment, gifts and offerings were presented to their majesties to a vast amount, so that after riot, bloodshed, imprisonment, and disgrace, the Londoners were glad to spend ten thousand pounds to purchase the king's forgiveness, when, by the willing loan of one, they would have been saved from all the evils they suffered.

At the entrance of the city, and at Temple Bar, on quitting it, the Lord Mayor earnestly implored the queen to intercede for the citizens, which she graciously promised, by simply saying, "Leave all to me." On arriving at Westminster Hall, she fell with all her ladies on her knees before the king, and sued for pardon of the city, which was, for her sake, immediately granted.

The following year (1394) Richard resolved to cross over, to quell in person the rebellion that had arisen in Ireland, but was prevented by an event which threw all England into mourning. This was no other than the death of the queen. Speed, after alluding to the demises of the Duchess of Aquitaine, the Countess of Derby, her daughter in law, and the Duchess of York, which all occurred the same year, with much

pathos says, "But all the griefe for their deaths did in no sort equall that of the king's for the losse of his owne Queene Anne, which about the same time hapned at Sheene in Surrey, whom he loved even to a kinde of madnesse."

The blow was the more severe, as her illness being of but a few hours' duration, Richard was totally unprepared for it: he gave way to the most vehement expressions of sorrow, and in the first moments of his grief is said to have ordered that the palace of Shene, which had been the favourite retreat of himself and of his lost Anne, should be levelled to the ground. Certain it is that he never approached it afterwards.¹

The funeral obsequies were performed with extraordinary magnificence, and the king "caused so many torches and tapers to be lighted up, that the like was never seen before." The queen was buried at Westminster, as some historians state, on the 26th July, St. Anne's day, while others name the 3rd of August; and a splendid monument was erected to her memory.

Richard mourned her loss long and deeply, and the people universally deplored their "good Queen Anne," to whose gentle influence they had many times owed their escape from the evils brought upon them by their readiness to listen to the counsels of those interested in alienating them from their sovereign, and by the struggles of the times in which she lived. Happy would it have been both for the king and country, had "good Queen Anne" lived as long as her husband. Her gentle influence would probably have restrained Richard from the follies and crimes which precipitated him from the throne, and saved the nation from many calamities.

¹ In Camden's "*Britannia*," there is the following notice of this queen's decease, in the description of Shene: "Hicce also departed Anne, wife to King Richard the Second, sister of the Emperor Venzelaus, and daughter to the Emperor Charles the Fourth, who first taught English women that manner of sitting on horseback which now is used. whereas before time, they rode very unseemely astride, like as men doe. Whose death also her passionate husband tooke so to the heart, that he altogether neglected the said house, and could not abide it."



ISABELLA OF VALOIS,

SECOND WIFE OF RICHARD THE SECOND

ISABELLA of Valois, second wife of Richard the Second, was born at Paris in 1387, and was the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth of France, and of Isabeau de Bavière, a woman as celebrated for her vices and extravagances as she was for her extraordinary beauty.

This match excited the utmost astonishment in England, and no little displeasure and astonishment, on account of the age of the bride, who, as some historians state, was, at the time of her betrothal, but nine years old, while others declare her to have been only seven, and displeasure, on account of the violent animosity the English had long entertained against the French, an animosity the indulgence of which had brought nothing but the most disastrous consequences during the last fifteen years of Edward the Third's reign, as well as during the earlier part of Richard's. They desired, also, that as the king's first wife, Anne of Bohemia,—“good Queen Anne,”—as she is emphatically called,—had brought him no offspring, he should marry a woman capable of giving an heir to the throne, instead of a child who could not be expected to do so for many years. Before determining on this marriage, Richard had, it appears occupied himself a good deal about the selection of a wife. “He would willingly have allied himself to the Duke of Burgogne, or the Count of Hainault, but they had no daughters married or affianced. The Duke of Gloucester had one of a proper age, and would fain have had his nephew marry her, but Richard would not hear of it, pretending she was too near in blood, being his cousin german, though perhaps the true reason was, that the relation of father to the queen being added to that of uncle to the king, the duke's arrogance would have been swelled to an insupportable degree, and his power raised to an irresistible height, which was already but too formidable.”

Philippa and Elizabeth, and by her he had three sons and a daughter. As two years did not pass between the death of Lancaster's first wife, Blanche, and his union with Constance of Castile, it is evident that some of these children were born during the existence of this latter marriage ; yet, notwithstanding the clearness of this fact, the pope, some time after his having espoused Katherine, legitimised them, and the king gave a patent for the same purpose, qualifying them to hold all appointments and honours short of the royal dignity. All this gave the utmost offence to the ladies about the court, more especially the Duchesses of York and Gloucester, and the Countesses of Derby and Arundel, who were enraged at the idea of seeing a person who, though she is said to have been "a woman of good sense, and perfectly well-bred," was certainly not entitled either by birth or conduct to occupy such a position, placed as second lady in the kingdom, and consequently above themselves. "They would not at first visit her, nor be in her company ; but the Duke of York soon came about, and the Earl of Derby was forced by his father's authority to submit." Gloucester, however, was not to be mollified, and he declared that neither himself nor his wife would ever visit the Duchess of Lancaster, nor call her "either lady or sister."

It was in the midst of these quarrels and jealousies that the young queen arrived in England ; and, as if they were not sufficient, the visit of Waleran, Count de St. Pol, who had married Maude the Fair, half-sister to Richard, gave Gloucester another pretext to excite the spirit of dissatisfaction and discontent. He pretended that the count's mission was to treat for the cession of Calais to France, and so impressed the minds of the people with this idea, that the Londoners sent a deputation to Pleshy, where Gloucester resided, to have positive information of the truth of the report. He did his utmost to encourage their belief of the rumour, insomuch that the deputation waited on the king, whose assurances, however, of the utter falsity of the tale, satisfied them.

Richard now began to see that so long as Gloucester was free, he himself was not in safety. This powerful, insolent, and ambitious man hardly made an attempt to conceal his schemes ; he had resolved to shut up the king and queen "in some fortress, where they should be well guarded, and might eat and drink in plenty, as long as it was convenient to let Richard live, and then the king of France might have his daughter."

Gloucester was seized and conveyed to Calais, where he died

suddenly. But from this time, Richard was constantly embroiled with his nobles. He executed the Earl of Arundel, and imprisoned the Earl of Warwick, but only to find himself distracted by the quarrels of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, and the Duke of Norfolk. Scarcely were these settled, when the young Earl of March, the heir presumptive to the throne, was killed by the rebels in Ireland. Richard set out thither to chastise the insurgent Irish, but he was soon recalled by the landing of Bolingbroke, who had been banished, and now came back as Duke of Lancaster, in consequence of the death of his father, and to wrest, if possible, the crown from Richard.

Immediately on this event, the Duke of York, who had been appointed regent during the king's absence, had the queen conveyed to Wallingford Castle, where she remained while her royal husband, to whom, child as she was, she was most warmly attached, was deprived of his kingdom by Henry Bolingbroke.

On his return from Ireland, Richard took refuge in different parts of Wales, where, though living amidst the greatest privations, he remained tolerably safe until treacherously betrayed by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who, under pretence of arranging certain conditions between him and Lancaster, persuaded him to repair to Flint Castle, that he might be nearer the scene of action; here he detained him by force until the arrival of Bolingbroke. When Lancaster entered the court of Flint Castle, where the king waited to receive him, he made him a slight bow, saying, "He was come sooner than perhaps Richard wished, to assist him in the government of the realm, which he had ruled for twenty-two years to its prejudice."¹ An anecdote, related by Froissart on this occasion, is too interesting to be omitted.

The king possessed a most beautiful greyhound named Math, which always testified the warmest attachment towards him, but would notice none else. While Richard and Lancaster were standing together in the court-yard, the dog, escaping, flew not to the king, but to Henry, caressing him, and placing his fore-paws on his shoulders, as he had been wont to do with his unhappy master. Lancaster, surprised at this sudden affection, asked the king the meaning of it.

Richard replied, "Cousin, it means a great deal for you, and very little for me."

"How?" said the duke; "pray explain it."

"I understand by it," said the unfortunate king, "that this, my favourite greyhound, Math, fondles and pays his court to you this day

¹ Carte

JOANNA OF NAVARRE,

THE WIFE OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH

THE name and character of this queen are but little known to the readers of English history, although she took a distinguished part in the politics of her times. As the wife of our first sovereign of the house of Lancaster, she becomes an object of interest, while her prudence, talents, and virtues recommend her still more to our consideration.

This princess, by both her parents, was descended from the royal family of France.

Her grandmother, Donna Joanna, was the daughter of the French king, Lewis Hutin, and upon his death was declared by the States to be the rightful heir to the crown, in opposition to the claims of the English monarch, Edward the Third, but "might overcame right" in this instance, and Philip "de Valois" obtained possession of the throne, leaving however to the Princess Joanna the peaceable inheritance of the kingdom of Navarre.

In these dominions she ruled, after the death of her husband, with great dignity and discretion. By her consort, Philip of Evreux, she had three sons and four daughters. Her eldest son became distinguished in history as Charles "le Mauvais," and was the father of Joanna of Navarre, the subject of this memoir.

All the children of Donna Joanna formed noble alliances, through the consummate prudence and high reputation of this queen, which rendered the house of Navarre infinitely more important than it had previously been, and gave it greater influence both in France and Spain. The Queen of Navarre conducted Donna Blanca, or Blanche, her third daughter, into France, to be united to the eldest son of Philip de Valois; but Philip was so struck with the beauty and merit of this princess that he married her himself, in spite of the disparity of their age. Two months after these nuptials, Donna Joanna died, on the 6th of October, 1346, at Conflans, and was buried at St. Denis.



Her son Charles then became King of Navarre. This prince is styled by the Spanish writers, Don Carlos, "the Wicked," and by others, Charles d'Albret. He was eighteen years of age when he ascended the throne. He had been educated in the French court, and was one of the most accomplished persons of his time. He is described as courteous, eloquent in the extreme, and popular without losing his dignity ; indeed such were his great qualities that they attracted the notice of all Europe, before he became a king, but his subsequent shameful abuse of power drew upon him the detestation of mankind.

His subjects had been led to anticipate a glorious reign, but they found themselves cruelly disappointed, for his first acts were of such severity as to alarm their minds for the future.

This prince also formed a close intimacy with Don Pedro, called "the Cruel," on whom the crown of Castile had just devolved. There was little inequality in the ages of these two princes, and their tempers assimilated. When they first met at Burgos they were both young, gay, and unstained in character, and having splendid courts, the interview which was most magnificent, gave mutual satisfaction.

Don Carlos laid claim to the countries of Brie and Champagne, and even made pretensions to Burgundy. John, King of France, who had succeeded his father Philip on the throne, in order to appease the King of Navarre bestowed upon him his second daughter, Joanna, in marriage, which, although acceptable to the Navarrese monarch, did not deter him from setting up new demands so soon as his nuptials were celebrated with the French princess.

Of this lady, the mother of Queen Joanna of Navarre, little notice occurs in history. Yet her life must have been both eventful and unhappy as the consort of such a prince as Charles, who became notorious for his crimes and unprincipled conduct, and whose life might be called a continual agitation to himself and others.

The eldest son of Joanna was born at Nantes, and left for his education with Blanche the queen dowager of France, when his parents returned to Spain in 1359.

In the year 1365, Don Carlos sent his Queen Joanna into France to negotiate a peace with her brother King Charles the Fifth, who there conceded Montpellier to the King of Navarre. Before her return to Spain, Joanna gave birth to her son Don Pedro at Evreux. Subsequently we find this princess left as regent in Navarre during the absence of her husband, Charles, who was following up his projects of getting possession of Brie, Champagne, and Burgundy. While acting

as regent, Donna Joanna was alarmed by an invasion by the King of Castile of the Navarrese dominions, but calling in the aid of the Pope's legate, she caused a treaty of pacification to be entered into.

Joanna of Navarre, afterwards Queen of England, was born in 1370 ; she lost her mother when she was only three years of age. When she was ten years old, that is, in 1380, a peace was established between the two kingdoms of Castile and Navarre, to confirm which the Infant Don Carlos was contracted to Donna Leonora of Castile, who was promised a handsome dower in ready money ; and the Princess Joanna was at the same time affianced to John the heir of Castile.

Upon the death of his father, John of Castile, breaking off his engagement with Joanna, married a princess of Arragon, which he is said to have done from reasons of state policy.

The intrigues of Charles of Navarre to establish himself on the disputed throne of his grandfather, engaged him in many contests ; and upon one occasion, while at variance with the Regents of France, his two sons, Charles and Peter, had been sent with their sister Joanna for security to the castle of Breteuil in Normandy, where they were all taken captive, and carried to Paris, and were there detained as hostages for their father's future good conduct.

Charles "le Mauvais," unable to obtain their release, employed a person to poison both the regents. But his diabolical scheme was discovered, and his agent put to death, and though Charles himself this time escaped the punishment he merited, yet his name soon became notorious throughout Europe for his crimes, and especially for his skill in magic and poisoning, which contemporary writers say he practised privately in his own palace.

The Regents of France, who were the maternal uncles of Charles's children, continued to detain them in a captivity, which, though it must have been irksome, was tempered as much as possible by the affection and honour with which they were treated. Meanwhile, the young wife of Charles, one of the captive princes, unceasingly besought her brother, the King of Castile, to interfere, and procure their release, which he did successfully, and thus Joanna at last obtained her freedom by the intercession of the very prince who had refused to accept her as his affianced bride.

Joanna of Navarre first becomes distinguished in history on the occasion of her marriage with John the Fourth, Duke of Brittany. She was that prince's third wife. John had passed his youth in

England ; and his first consort was Mary Plantagenet, the daughter of King Edward the Third, with whose family he had been educated.

Upon the death of this lady, without children, he entered into a second union, three years after, with the half-sister of King Richard the Second, the Lady Jane Holland. At the time that Joanna was first proposed to him as his third consort, fears were entertained by the Regents of France, that the duke's partiality to England would induce him to enter into another alliance with this country. To counteract the disadvantage of such a match, and to secure Brittany as a fief for France, they proposed to John that he should become a suitor for the hand of their niece, the Princess Joanna of Navarre, with whom they offered a very high dower.

Some years before this proposition, Joan of Navarre, the aunt of Joanna, had married the Viscount de Rohan, a relative and vassal of the Duke of Brittany : this lady was employed by the regents to bring about the marriage of their niece. It was through her exertions, that John de Montfort, although declining in years, was induced to unite himself with the Spanish princess, who was then in the bloom of youth ; and Pierre de Lesnerac was dismissed, in June, 1384, to solicit for the duke, the hand of Joanna, and to convey her into Brittany.

Many obstacles occurred in the course of these negotiations, which delayed the marriage, but there was no indifference on the part of the duke, who, having no children, was anxious to have an heir to his dukedom ; and therefore earnestly desired his union with this princess. A second time he dismissed his envoy, on 13th June, 1386, with every requisite provision for the use of his bride and her attendants, to escort her to his dominions.

The marriage contract was signed at Pampeluna on the 25th of August, 1386. Charles, King of Navarre, engaged to bestow upon his daughter Joanna 120,000 livres of gold, of the coins of the kings of France, and 6,000 livres due to him on the lands of the Viscount d'Avranches. Joanna had also assigned to her the cities of Nantes and Guerrande, the barony of Rais, of Chatellenie de Touffon, and that of Guerche.

The nuptial ceremony was performed at Saillé, near Guerrande, in Navarre, on the 11th of September, 1386, and many knights, nobles, and squires from Brittany were present. This joyous occasion was succeeded by numerous splendid feasts and pageants given by the duke, at Nantes, in honour of his youthful bride.

In February of 1387, an exchange of gifts took place between the duke and duchess, as a testimony of their mutual affection, consisting of gold, sapphires, pearls, and other costly gems, with horses, falcons, and various sorts of wines

John "the Valiant," Duke of Brittany, although one of the most warlike princes of his age, was also one of the most quarrelsome, it is therefore still more creditable on his part, that, although the King of Navarre never entirely fulfilled his promises respecting the dower he had settled upon his daughter, the bridegroom did not resent his conduct, and that no estrangement between him and his young wife was produced by it. He regarded her with the utmost fondness, and in spite of the disappointment of his hopes of an heir to the dukedom, by the birth of two daughters in succession, John "le Valiant" never forgot the respect and affection due to his duchess, and it may be said, that, as tender an attachment succeeded their union, as could exist, under the disparity of their years.

Charles 'le Mauvais,' ever occupied in mischief, had infused into the mind of his son-in-law suspicions against his mortal enemy, Oliver de Clisson Constable of France, and such a thirst for vengeance was awakened in his breast that it had nearly involved him in ruin. But the flame of jealousy thus lighted up against De Clisson, and which led to the most extraordinary and unjustifiable conduct on the part of John "le Valiant," did not cause Joanna to suffer in the least, an undoubted proof of her prudent and discreet conduct.

To the day of his death her irritable husband continued to regard the young and lovely duchess with the most unalterable confidence and regard.

In the course of her husband's rule, this princess had on many occasions to exercise her beneficial influence, which was great, and Joanna never failed to exert herself in the cause of justice and humanity, and more than once she had the satisfaction of rescuing her wilful husband from circumstances of extreme peril into which his own rashness had led him.

The Duchess of Brittany, notwithstanding the splendour of her high station, enjoyed but little real happiness. In the year 1387, the first year of her married life, she had to mourn the tragical end of her father, Charles of Navarre, who, hated and unpitied by the world, was still beloved by his affectionate daughter, though she was unable to respect and honour him. This prince expired under peculiarly horrible circumstances.

In the hope of restoring the use of his limbs which were paralysed by disease, he caused his body to be encased in bandages previously dipped in spirits of wine and sulphur. The careless attendants one night desiring to sever the thread with which these bandages had been sewn, applied a candle, which, igniting the spirits of wine, burnt the king so frightfully, that he died a few days afterwards.

Much afflicted as she was at this melancholy catastrophe the Duchess Joanna had yet other griefs. In the following years she was deprived of two children, who died within a short time of each other, and severely did she lament their loss. She was at this time living in solitary life in the castle of Ermine, while her husband was at Paris pleading his cause against the constable, Oliver de Clisson. But Joanna was soon after cheered by the news of the duke's reconciliation with the King of France, and she was also consoled for her losses by the satisfaction of giving birth to a son and heir to the house of Montfort; and subsequently she became the mother of a numerous family.

From the period of the birth of her eldest son, Joanna began to exercise her influence in public affairs, and she gradually became experienced in the government of the duchy. War again broke out between her husband and De Clisson, and again they were cited to appear before the King of France, but John "le Valiant" refused to obey the summons. The Duke de Berri was dismissed to Nantes, to assemble the chief of the nobles of Brittany; while ambassadors were sent to the duke, who, in great anger, commanded their arrest.

Joanna, instantly perceiving the great danger to which this base step would expose the duchy, immediately hurried with her little son and her second child, but an infant, into the presence of the duke, whom she besought with tears and earnest entreaties, not to permit his unconscious children to suffer the inevitable peril consequent on such rashness. She pleaded successfully, and the duke ordered that the ambassadors should be treated with the usual respect. But he was soon again involved in trouble by harbouring the traitor Pierre de Craon, who had attempted to assassinate the Constable of France in the Place de St. Katherine. The Constable escaped the hand of Craon, and the assassin fled into the territories of the duke, who, refusing to surrender him, a large army, headed by the king himself, entered the duchy. The duke's ruin seemed inevitable, but the sudden illness of Charles the Sixth put an end to the enterprise, and John "le Valiant" was rescued from his peril.

In 1393, the Duke of Brittany besieged De Clisson in the castle of Josselin, and the Viscount Rohan was deputed to plead with the duchess to persuade her husband to raise the siege. Joanna readily undertook to do so, for she was always more favourable towards De Clisson than the duke, who, upon this occasion, also acceded to his wife's request. De Clisson returned to his allegiance, and paid the duke the sum of 100,000 golden francs. His confederates also obtained the duke's favour through the same intercession; and in the treaty which they entered into, in 1393, Joanna, as though an independent sovereign, agreed to "promise, grant, and swear that she would aid and defend the aforesaid."

The Duke of Brittany aspired to the highest alliances for his children. He projected the marriage of his eldest son, when but eight years old, to the second daughter of the King of France, and his eldest daughter, although but seven, to Henry, the son of the Earl of Derby, and afterwards Henry the Fifth of England.

The first of these alliances only took place; and the daughter, whose name was Mary, was subsequently contracted to the Earl of Alençon.

During the frequent absences of the duke from his duchy, Joanna was entrusted with the administration; so that she gradually became exercised in those duties, which it was afterwards necessary for her to fulfil.

When Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth of England, returned to this country after the death of John of Gaunt, with the intention of claiming his inheritance, and in the remote expectation of the regal crown, he passed through Brittany, accompanied by the exiled Archbishop Arundel. He received the most cordial welcome from John "le Valiant," who made liberal promises to him of assistance, and, after feasting him for several days, at his departure sent with him three vessels of Brittany, full of men-at-arms and others, to escort him to Plymouth. Before the close of the same year, the Duke of Brittany was no more; Henry had usurped his cousin's throne; and, not long after, Joanna of Navarre became his queen.

John "le Valiant" died on the 10th of November, 1399, and some have supposed his end to have been hastened by poison, administered through the agency of Margaret, Countess of Penthievres, the daughter of Clisson. However this may be, his faithful consort attended him during his last illness, and had the satisfaction of closing his eyes in peace.

A few days previous to his decease, the duke added a codicil to his will by which he confirmed to Joanna her dower, and all his gifts to her, his beloved wife ; and appointed her, with her eldest son and two other persons, his executors. He also left Joanna sole guardian of his children, seven in number. The duke was interred with due solemnity, and Joanna having been appointed regent during the minority of the young duke her son, she immediately commenced the charge of her public duties by a formal reconciliation with Oliver de Clisson and the other confederate lords. This was an act of great policy, to say the least of it ; but it is probable, that Joanna knew the real character of De Clisson, and justly thought it wise, at any cost, to secure the friendship of such a man.

There is an anecdote related of the constable which redounds so much to his honour that it may not be amiss to introduce it here.

The daughter of De Clisson was the wife of the rival claimant of the Duchy of Brittany, and it is said, that when Duke John died, leaving an infant family, she rushed to the chamber of her father, and requested him to kill the noble minors, to make way for her own children.

This base appeal so roused the ire of the virtuous constable, that, forgetting at once his just resentment against Duke John, he drew his sword, exclaiming "that if she lived longer, she would initiate her children in infamy and crime ;" and he would have killed her upon the spot, had she not made a retreat, so hasty that, in quitting the presence of her incensed parent, she fell and broke the bone of her thigh, which caused her to be lame throughout the remainder of her life.

The Duchess of Brittany exercised the high duties of regent with singular prudence, talents, and discretion. Eighteen months after her husband's death, she put the young duke into possession of the duchy. He took the customary oaths on the 22nd of May, 1401, in the cathedral of Rennes, and was knighted by De Clisson on the following day.

Previous to these events, the Duchess of Brittany having received overtures of marriage from King Henry the Fourth, had taken the necessary steps to obtain a dispensation, which was at last granted. At this time there was a schism in the Church ; yet, although Joanna acknowledged one pope, and King Henry another, matters were, after some delay, finally accommodated, and she was united to the King of England, by proxy, on the 3rd of April, 1402, at the palace of Eltham. It is remarkable, that upon this occasion, a male repre-

Peace was never long maintained between France and England. The disposition for war was a continual annoyance to the new queen, who was thus often compelled to behold her nearest relatives engaged in mortal combat against each other. The son of Joanna was also so much under the control of the court of France, that he had often to appear in arms against England, or to remain entirely neutral.

Joanna was the first widow who had worn the matrimonial crown since the Conquest. She was about three-and-thirty years of age, and had a large family. Still her influence over the mind of Henry was great, and his love for her continued unaltered. By her friendly interference much evil was prevented, and at length a truce was concluded with the Duke of Brittany, which promised to be of the most essential benefit to both countries.

King Henry bestowed upon his beloved wife many rich and valuable possessions, and appointed her the new Tower, adjoining Westminster Hall, in which to hold her public courts, and perform such other acts as devolved upon her as queen consort. He also granted her some lead-mines in England; and at her request bestowed upon her son Arthur the earldom of Richmond, for which he rendered his homage to the king.

Queen Joanna caused a splendid alabaster tomb to be prepared by English artists to the memory of her first husband, and conveyed to France and placed in the church of Nantes.

Although so amiable and beloved, Joanna's life was far from being either peaceful or happy. She was not popular with the English, simply on account of the trains of foreigners which she had about her, always an offensive sight to the English. Two or three attacks upon her foreign domestics were made by parliament, and especially by the commons, who had now assumed a position of considerable influence in the state. Besides these sources of annoyance, by which she was denied the regulation even of her own household, she saw some of her admirers become objects of jealousy to her royal lord. The storm of his fury fell with its utmost violence upon an old and faithful adherent of King Henry, the Duke of York, who was consigned to a prison upon some petty pretence, and kept in confinement for a considerable time. The king, however, was soon convinced of the groundlessness of his suspicion, and "made amends" by releasing him from his captivity, and restoring him to his former employments. Some amatory lines are still preserved from the pen of the Duke of York which were addressed to Queen Joanna, who, although no longer

Prince Arthur, who, as Earl of Richmond, had violated his oath of allegiance and greatly exasperated the monarch, who, therefore, was deaf to the intercessions of Joanna in his behalf, and kept him in close confinement for many years

In 1417, King Henry the Fifth concluded a treaty with the Duke of Brittany, he himself specifying that he does this "at the prayer of Joanna, that excellent and most dear lady, the queen our mother"

Two years later, we find Joanna was arrested at her palace of Havering Bower, by order of the Duke of Bedford, then regent, on the extraordinary charge of having practised against the king's life, while in Normandy, by means of witchcraft Her chief accuser was her confessor, John Randolph, a Minorite friar, through whose statements King Henry resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against his stepmother, who, with all such of her household as were suspected, were committed to prison The queen was first confined in the castle of Leeds, and afterwards at Pevensy She was deprived of all her rich possessions in lands, money, furniture, and even of her wearing apparel; and her servants were dismissed by her gaoler, Sir John Pelham, and strangers placed about her person One writer has ventured to assert that Joanna was convicted on this charge, but it is certain she never was permitted the opportunity of refuting these dark allegations Without any regard to justice she was condemned unheard, and committed to solitary confinement The violent death of the priest Randolph for ever silenced his evidence, and as he was the only witness against her, this affair has continued a mystery. It has, however, been supposed that King Henry the Fifth wished to borrow large sums from the ample dower of his stepmother, and meeting with some resistance on her part, caused her arrest on this frivolous charge, which afforded him a pretence to replenish his coffers

The return of King Henry the Fifth with his bride, the beautiful Katherine of Valois, brought no alleviation to the sufferings of Queen Joanna; for, although her near relative, that princess evinced no sympathy for her, and even part of the royal dower of the prisoner was assigned over to maintain the state of the new queen.

At length the mighty conqueror of France, finding his end approaching, was seized with remorse for the injuries he had inflicted on his father's widow, and addressed the lords and bishops of his council, on the 13th of July, 1422, commanding the restitution of Queen Joanna's lands This letter freed the queen, if not in words, at least in effect, from the serious charge under which she had been

suffering. Previously to this, however, she had been removed to Leeds Castle, and her captivity somewhat ameliorated. King Henry died on the 31st of August, 1422; and in the reign of his successor, Henry the Sixth, a petition was presented by Joanna for the complete restitution of her dower, commanded by his father, whose grants to other individuals had raised some difficulties in this matter.

Queen Joanna lived many years after her restoration to liberty and her royal station. She sometimes resided at Langley, but her favourite retreat was Havering Bower, at which place she died on the 9th of July, 1437, being sixty-seven years of age.

Joanna of Navarre had nine children by her first husband. Of these, two died in infancy. The eldest was Duke of Brittany; the second, the valiant Arthur, Earl of Richmond, distinguished himself in France; and her two daughters who came with the queen to England died soon after they were married, as was supposed by poison. Joanna's third son, named Jules, died in England in 1412, and Richard, Count d'Estampes, survived his mother only one year.

Queen Joanna had no children by her second marriage. She was interred in Canterbury Cathedral, near the king, whom she survived twenty-five years. A superb altar tomb had been raised over the remains of her husband by Joanna, and upon this, side by side, the effigies of Henry the Fourth and his queen repose.

The portrait of this queen gives us the idea of a very beautiful woman. She is represented as majestic and graceful, and her attitude that of easy dignity. Her head was very high and broad upwards; her throat long and delicate, and her arms slender and rounded. Her features have been described as small, yet regular, with very long eyes and eyebrows; a peculiar expression of acuteness, or intelligence, pervades the whole countenance, and it is impossible to discover in those sweet traits anything which could authorise the charges of witchcraft against her. Her enemies might be supposed envious of or troubled by those bewitching smiles, which ever cast a radiance around her.



and the latter at the Hôtel de St. Pol. But their state was very different ; for that of the French monarch was poor and mean, and he was attended only by persons of low degree and some old servants ; while of his victorious antagonist and Katherine, the magnificence was unbounded. The highest nobility came from all parts to do them honour ; and from that day Henry took on himself the whole government of the kingdom, appointing officers at his pleasure, and dismissing those to whom their monarch and the late Duke of Burgundy had given appointments.

When the festivities were concluded, the English prince and his fair consort, with a gorgeous retinue, proceeded to Rouen, accompanied by the Dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and the Red Duke of Bavaria, who had married Henry's sister, and had come to support him with five hundred men-at-arms. When the public affairs had been arranged in that town, the sovereigns departed thence, and repaired to Amiens, where they were received enthusiastically and magnificently ; and very costly presents were made by the municipality to the consort of their king elect. Thence they continued their journey to Calais, where they stayed a few days, and then crossed the Channel to England, his subjects cheering their victorious prince, as if, says Monstielet, "he had been an angel. He lost no time after his arrival, in having Katherine crowned queen of England in the city of London, the metropolis of that kingdom. The coronation was performed with such splendid magnificence that the like had never been seen at any coronation since the time of that noble knight, Arthur, king of the English and Bretons." It is recorded that the only evidence of a spirit of kindness existing in Queen Katherine was exhibited by her at this coronation feast, where she interceded with Henry for the liberation of the captive youthful monarch of Scotland, James the First, the author of the quaint ancient poem called "The Quair." The queen not only succeeded in her request, on condition that James should assist Henry in prosecuting the conquest of France, but obtained his betrothal to the lady to whom he was passionately attached—Joanna Beaufort. After this ceremony, King Henry made a progress to the principal towns of his realm, and explained to them with much eloquence, what grand deeds he had performed through his prowess in France, and what yet remained to be done for the complete conquest of that kingdom, namely, the subjugation of his adversary the Dauphin of Vienne, only son to King Charles, and brother to Katherine, who styled himself heir to the crown, and regent

kings solemnly celebrated the feast of Pentecost, which fell on the day after their arrival.

"On this day the King and Queen of England were seated at table, gorgeously apparelled, having crowns on their heads. The English princes, dukes, knights, and prelates were partakers of the feast, each seated according to his rank, and the tables were covered with the rarest viands and choicest wines. The king and queen this day held a grand court, which was attended by all the English in Paris; and the Parisians went to the castle of the Louvre to see the king and queen at table, crowned with their most precious diamonds; but as no meat or drink was offered to the populace, they went away much discontented; for in former times, when the kings of France kept open court, meat and drink were distributed plentifully to all comers by the king's servants.

"King Charles had indeed been as liberal and courteous as his predecessors, but he was now seated in his Hôtel of St. Pol at table with his queen, deserted by the grandees and others of his subjects. The government and power of his kingdom were now transferred into the hands of his son-in-law, King Henry; and he had so little share, that he was managed as the King of England pleased, and no attention was paid him, which created much sorrow in the hearts of all loyal Frenchmen, and not without cause."¹

Poor King Charles! He was one of those unfortunate personages who seem born expressly to make manifest how much of ingratitude, selfishness, and meanness exist in the majority of mankind.

The royal families then departed from Paris, and went to Senlis, where they made some stay. Thence Henry repaired to Compiègne, where, learning that a plot had been formed to betray the city of Paris to the adherents of the dauphin, he hastened to that city and detected and punished the conspirators. He then returned to Senlis, where the malady that occasioned his death manifested itself most painfully. Nevertheless, he took leave of the King and Queen of France, and of his own consort, and proceeded to Melun in a litter, in order that he might join his army on the day appointed for a battle between the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy. But he daily grew so much weaker, that he was forced to return to the castle of Vincennes, where Katherine was, and where he terminated his martial and adventurous life. Previous to his dissolution he gave some excellent political advice, which was not adopted.

¹ *Monstrelet, ch. cclxi.*

Katherine, who was yet only in her twenty-first year, indulged in violent grief for the loss of her lord, and followed, in great state, the funeral procession from Paris to London. The body of the king was laid in a chariot drawn by four great horses. There was also a figure dressed resembling him, in royal state, in purple and ermine, crowned, and bearing the sceptre and globe in its hand. This representation of the great warrior king was placed over the corpse, in a splendid bed in the chariot, and a magnificent canopy was held over it by men of note, and in this state the funeral passed through the various towns till it reached Calais—the King of Scots attending as chief mourner, besides a vast number of nobles and captains of renown, bearing hatchments, and others bearing banners. Around the bier were four hundred men-at-arms in block armour and with reversed lances. At a mile's distance followed the queen, with a vast retinue, keeping always within view of the light of the great wax-torches which encompassed the procession. At Dover she was met by fifteen bishops in their pontifical habits, and by a great concourse of mitred abbots and priests, with a vast concourse of people. All the way from Blackheath, and through London, the priests chanted; and the people at their doors, each holding a torch, formed a unique illumination. Such was the solemn magnificence of the obsequies with which Katherine lamented her lord. She raised also to his memory a tomb of surpassing grandeur. At his interment, "and in regard to everything concerning it," says Monstrelet, "greater pomp and expense was made than had been done for two hundred years at the burial of any king of England; and even now as much honour and reverence are daily paid to his tomb, as if it were certain he was a saint in paradise. Thus ended the life of King Henry in the flower of his age, for when he died he was but forty years old. He was very wise and able in every business he undertook, and of a determined character. During the seven or eight years he ruled in France he made greater conquests than any of his predecessors had ever done. It is true he was so feared by his princes and captains that none dared to disobey his orders, however nearly related to him, more especially his English subjects. In this state of obedience were his subjects of France and of England; and the principal cause was, that if any person transgressed his ordinances, he had been instantly punished without favour or mercy."

The unfortunate Charles terminated his career within less than two months after the decease of his son-in-law. This event occasioned the Parisians to send an embassy to the infant Henry and to Katherine.

to intreat that they would order that a sufficient force should proceed to France to oppose the daily advances of the new king, late dauphin of Vienne. Though the person to be thwarted was her brother, the proposition was joyfully received by Katherine, and the envoys were faithfully promised speedy and effectual succour.

For about three years Katherine appeared in public, on the opening of parliament, and such occasions, with the infant king in her carriage, or seated in her lap, in great state, and much to the delight of the people.

The Earl of Warwick was appointed guardian of the infant king ; and, soon after, Katherine disappeared from public life, and that so completely, that for thirteen years there are no state documents which record her actions. The fact was, that she had married Owen Tudor, a Welshman, who, though claiming a princely origin, had been occupying no higher station than a common soldier in the Welsh band which fought under Henry, her late husband, in France. Tradition ascribed his advancement to the degree of Esquire, to his bravery at Agincourt, where Henry the Fifth appointed him, for his merit, one of the squires of his body. He was still in this station, keeping guard over the queen and her infant son at Windsor, when, by his handsome person, he attracted the attention of Katherine. Being called upon to dance before the court on some festive occasion, Owen made a stumble and fell into the queen's lap, as she sat in a low seat amongst her ladies ; and the good-humoured manner in which she excused this awkwardness, first raised a suspicion amongst the court ladies of her liking for him. The marriage gave the greatest offence to the late king's courtiers, and especially to the Duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed protector. It was kept as profoundly secret as possible by Katherine ; and on the first suspicion, not of the actual fact, but of the danger of it, a severe statute was enacted in the sixth year of her son's reign, forbidding, under heavy penalties, any one to marry a queen-dowager, or any lady holding lands of the crown, without the consent of the king and his council. There can be little doubt but that the marriage had taken place some time before, and this law would only tend to the more strictly maintaining secrecy as to their connexion. It was never recognised by the government ; Katherine always styled herself the widow of Henry the Fifth ; and her son, Henry the Sixth, never acknowledged Owen Tudor as his father-in-law, though he received him after he attained his majority, into considerable favour, and raised two out of the three sons

of Tudor and Katherine to rank and fortune. The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of Henry the Fifth, and uncle of Henry the Sixth, appears to have been most especially incensed at the queen-dowager's marriage with Owen Tudor. It was in vain that Tudor boasted of descent from Cadwallader kings, and asserted that he was of the line of the old prince Theodore, which the Saxon pronunciation had corrupted to Tudor, and even vulgarised to Tidder: he was regarded of mean station. Rapin declares that his father was a brewer, of Beaumaris; and Pennant will not allow him to have been more than *scutifer*, or shield-bearer to the Bishop of Bangor. After Katherine had had four children by him, three sons and one daughter, in the year 1436, fourteen years after her royal husband's death, the Duke of Gloucester succeeded in separating Katherine and Owen Tudor. Katherine was compelled to retire to the Abbey of Bermondsey; her three sons were torn from her, and conveyed to the keeping of a sister of the Earl of Suffolk; her daughter had lived only a few days; and Owen Tudor, her husband, was thrown into Newgate.

This cruel persecution appears to have broken Katherine's heart: she became very ill, and in her weakness and dejection grievously laid to heart her perverseness in having disobeyed the injunction of her royal husband Henry the Fifth, and given birth to Henry the Sixth at Windsor. Those misfortunes, which Henry had prophesied, were rapidly fulfilling. The English had evacuated Paris, and were fast losing town after town in France. Katherine's mother, Queen Isabeau, had recently died neglected and despised, scarcely any one being found to bury her. From that which had thus come to pass, Katherine, in her feebleness and sorrow, might naturally look forward to calamity falling on her son, as the necessary sequence of belief in the truth of the prognostication. But a few days before her death she dictated a will, addressed to the king her son, full of melancholy, but not even then mentioning Owen Tudor as her wedded husband. She died February, 1437, but a few months after her entrance to the Abbey of Bermondsey; and was buried in Our Lady's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, in a stately tomb, bearing a Latin epitaph, which, as it represented her as *widow* of Henry the Fifth, is supposed to have been purposely destroyed by Henry the Seventh, as directly denying the legitimacy of his father. The fate of Katherine after death was strange in the extreme. Her remains were exhumed when Henry the Seventh was interred, and continued unburied till the commencement of the present century. In three hundred years her body was shown

as a curiosity to any persons visiting Westminster Abbey. It remained in a wonderful state of preservation. Pepys boasts of having kissed it ; and it was not till late in the reign of George the Third that it was consigned to one of the vaults

After Katherine's death, her husband was vigorously persecuted. He escaped from Newgate, and retired into Wales ; but his indefatigable enemy, Gloucester, again secured him by treachery, and, in spite of a safe conduct, threw him into a dungeon of Wallingford Castle, and then brought him back to Newgate. Once more Tudor broke loose from Newgate, and, reaching his native mountains, was not retaken. On Henry the Sixth arriving at power, though he never acknowledged Owen Tudor as his step-father, he appointed him keeper of the royal parks in Wales ; and when Henry's own troubles with the house of York arrived, Owen stoutly did battle for him, and being taken prisoner, was beheaded in Hereford market-place.

The third son of Katherine by Owen Tudor became a monk of Westminster, where he lived and died in the habit. The eldest son, Edward, was made Duke of Richmond, with precedence over all other English peers. He died in his twentieth year, but left an infant son, who became Henry the Seventh. The next son of Katherine, Jasper Tudor, was created Earl of Pembroke. Had Katherine lived till this period, it is evident that Henry would have treated her with the affection of a son. As it was, he behaved like a most noble brother to the sons of her second marriage, and never forgave Gloucester for his harsh treatment of herself.



MARGARET OF ANJOU,

QUEEN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

MARGARET, daughter of René of Anjou, subsequently King of Sicily, and Isabella of Lorraine, was the youngest of her parents' five children, and, according to history, the most favoured by nature of them all. Her grandmother was Yoland, or Violante, of Arragon (at this time a constant visitant at the French court), and the Spanish blood thus intermingled did not slumber in this one, at least, of her descendants. Margaret's own mother, a scion of the line of Charlemagne, was also as spirited as she was beautiful; but René himself, so unfortunate in his career, appears to have naturally approximated more closely to the future consort of his daughter, being devoted to the refinements of art, and attached to the peaceful enjoyments of domestic life. The members of this family were united to each other by bonds of the strongest affection; and Margaret, we are told, was alike the favourite and admiration of France and themselves. Possessed of "a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal those great talents even in the privacy" of her father's narrowed court, "and it was reasonable to expect that when she should mount the throne they would break out with still superior lustre." She was, says Hume, "the most accomplished woman of her age, both in body and mind, and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry and to supply all his defects and weaknesses." With these attractions it is not extraordinary that other proposals, anterior to those of the King of England, had been made for the hand of the Infanta (as she was called among the Provençals); and, indeed, the gallant Count de St. Pol, and the Duke of Burgundy's handsome nephew, Count de Nevers, are both mentioned as favoured lovers of Margaret; in fact, to the first she is reported to have been engaged; but both these alliances were abandoned finally for the more splendid prospects opened by Suffolk's

embassy, nor do we find any record of reluctance upon her part to acquiesce in her father's acceptance. Margaret, who was born March 23, 1429, was about fifteen when this contract took place.

The treaty had been signed at Tours, the present residence of the court, where Rapin, quoting Hall, Biondi, and others, states the marriage to have been celebrated, although the father and mother of Margaret having been united at Nanci, it is on this, as well as upon other accounts, most probable that those authorities which fix the last-mentioned city as the scene of the nuptials are correct. A notice of the event, comprised in a dozen lines of Monstrelet's chronicle, states that here "with the king were René, king of Sicily, and numbers of great lords and knights, the queens of France and Sicily, the dauphiness, and the daughter of René, whom the Earl of Suffolk had come with a splendid embassy to demand in marriage for the King of England. After a few discussions every thing was agreed on; but before their departure with the new queen, a magnificent tournament was held, in which the Kings of France and Sicily, the Lord Charles d'Anjou, the Counts de Foix and de St. Pol, the Lord Ferry de Lorraine, and several other lords, tilted; these feasts lasted eight days, and the ladies were most splendidly dressed." The Lord Ferry of Lorraine, as he is here called, had recently married Margaret's only sister, having eloped with her upon the occasion of this very tournament, since a steady disinclination was manifested by the family to his long-projected suit; and the rebellious though forgiven pair accompanied the Queen of England as far as Bar le Duc, where, we are told, "René and her mother took leave of her with floods of tears, and prayers for her welfare." Two leagues from Nanci the King and Queen of France had previously parted with their niece, "with many tears, and recommended her to the protection of God; their grief was so great that they could not speak."¹

Although the marriage had taken place in the month of November, delays upon her transit from Nanci rendered it the end of March or the beginning of the following April before Margaret landed at Porchester, whence, proceeding to Southampton, she was seized with a sudden and serious indisposition, which again protracted her meeting with her royal consort. According to Stow and others, Henry had been awaiting her at Southwick, where, on the 22nd of April, 1445, the marriage was personally solemnised; the ring used on this occasion being made from one "of gold, garnished with a fayr rubie, sometime

¹ Monstrelet.

yeven unto us by our bel uncle the Cardinal of Englande, with the which we were sacred on the day of our coronation at Parys, delivered unto Mathew Phelip to breke, and thereof to make an other ryng for the quene's wedding-ring."¹ It was here on the very spot of her marriage, that the youthful queen came first into contact with those troubled elements which were to render her life one long source of tempests and calamities. The court at this time was rent by the contending factions of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and the protector of the realm, and Cardinal Beaufort, the king's great uncle. Each of these noblemen were anxious to ally the king so as to strengthen their own party. Gloucester had been in treaty with the Count of Armagne for his daughter, and, it is said, had gone so far as a betrothal; but Cardinal Beaufort defeated his rival's object by bringing to the young king's knowledge, the beauty and accomplishments of Margaret of Anjou, niece of Louis XI., king of France. So much was Henry enamoured of the picture and the descriptions which he received of Margaret, that he hurried on the negociation with youthful precipitance, and even sacrificed for the accomplishment, the province of Maine, the key of Normandy, for which his father had shed so much blood. The Duke of Gloucester was, of course, highly incensed at the triumph of the measures of the Beaufort faction over his own, and in which Margaret was so innocently involved. Yet Gloucester, whose near relationship inferred a due amount of courtesy, seeming to have forgotten his disinclination to the match in his desire to shew every mark of honour to his new sovereign, met her at Blackheath, and on the following Friday, May 28, conducted her in triumph to London, "attended (Stow says) by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city, and the crafts of the same on horseback." Another tournament completed the celebration of the event, which was distinguished by a costly magnificence and display hardly justified by the empty state of the exchequer on both sides, and somewhat in contrast with the scantiness of the young queen's personal wardrobe.

"The natures of the late married couple were, if not opposite, sufficiently differing: the husband was of a womanish inclination, the wife of a manlike spirit; the king was humble, devout, spiritually-given, caring only for his soul's health; the queen was proud, ambitious, worldly-given, and not to be quieted, till, having brought the kingdom to be governed as she pleased, she might see herself free from rivals in the government. The Duke of Gloucester was no ways pleasing to

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. xi., p. 76.

To increase also the national discontent, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, who had been some time since appointed governor of Normandy, was obliged to dismiss the greater portion of his troops from want of pecuniary supplies; and Charles of France, by a diligent employment of the period of the truce, having collected and disciplined fresh forces, renewed the war with England, with the success which might have been anticipated. This and a complication of other circumstances conspired to render the childless queen of England apparently devoted to the interests of her own relatives in France, and at the same time careless of those at home; and the unfavourable impression, studiously fomented by the duke's party, drew upon Margaret daily increasing odium and mistrust. Suffolk, advanced by the queen to the rank of duke, was branded with the appellation of "the favourite;" and it was complained that the council had been filled, at his suggestion, by her partisans, under the king's authority, without the smallest consideration of their fitness for the posts to which they were promoted, until the general tumult reached its acmè upon the expulsion of the English from France, and the entire loss of possessions, some of which had been united to the crown of England for a period of three centuries.

The Duke of York had meanwhile been removed from the more public arena, and sent to quell a rebellion in Ireland; and here not only did he distinguish himself by the skill and credit of his administration, but "so assuaged the fury of the wild and savage people, that he won such favour among them as could never be separated from him and his lineage." Richard, a prince of valour and abilities, "of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions" added to the dangerous popularity such qualities inspired, was likely from his wealth and connexions to prove a most formidable opponent. The former resulted from the union of many successions, "those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other, which last inheritance had been before augmented by an union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of March." His duchess was a Neville, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, a house whose influence was hourly increasing; and the Earl of Devonshire, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Cobham, with many others, were already prepared to unite with its nobles in espousing the Yorkist cause.

The commencement of the year 1450 saw the popular commotion reach its height, and Suffolk, who could expect but little sympathy from the aristocracy, ill brooking, in their sensitiveness of hereditary pride, the exaltation of a merchant's grandson to the highest honours

in the realm, seemed blindly resolved to brave the universal hostility so speedily to issue in its fall. This once determined upon, as common in such cases, no pause was allowed for reflection upon the honour or humanity of the means. Nevertheless, the queen's power, so decisively used in his behalf, rendered the accomplishment of Suffolk's ruin no easy task; for Margaret spared not endeavours to secure his safety, but herself suggested his temporary banishment, and furthered his escape to France. How terribly her efforts were frustrated appears in the end of the unfortunate duke. At the moment when he imagined himself safe, perhaps from superstitious reliance upon the verity of a prediction which had declared that he should die in the Tower, he was intercepted near Dover, by emissaries sent to destroy him, in a vessel called "St. Nicholas of the Tower," his head was struck off and his body thrown into the sea; neither do we find that "any inquiry was made after the accomplices in this atrocious deed," though we may well conceive that Margaret deeply deplored the loss of this her first English friend, devoted to her, as was also his duchess, and that she was unrelaxingly, though silently, meditating schemes of vengeance towards the perpetrators, well known, though at present beyond her reach.

She was, nevertheless, also meditating schemes of advantage to the nation. She commenced the foundation of Queens' College, Cambridge, which was dedicated by the royal foundress to her patroness, St. Margaret, and St. Bernard. She also endeavoured to introduce manufacturers of woollen and silk goods, and had peace been her lot, there is little doubt that she would have proved one of the most able public-spirited queens which England has ever possessed.

Hitherto the popular tumults incident upon the previous events had been suppressed with comparative ease, but the insurrection of Cade, formidable from the secret connivance of the Duke of York, added to a pestilence which broke out about this time, "swallowed up all concern for France, in the commotion which afflicted England, and shook the throne of Henry." The king, accompanied by his consort, had gone out to meet the insurgents, but, dreading carnage, was only too glad to avail himself of the news of their retreat to relinquish the command and retrace his steps to London. This conduct inspired the rebels with fresh courage, and the result was a success over the royal troops, which induced the council to urge the precipitate flight of their majesties to Kenilworth; nor was peace restored, until, by the intervention of Kempe, Archbishop of York, and chancellor, certain conditions had

been allowed to the rebels, prior to their laying down their arms and the death of Cade, who was subsequently killed, which conditions Margaret, with ill advised laxity of honour, afterwards attempted to infringe

The Duke of Somerset succeeded the unfortunate Suffolk in power with the council and credit with the queen, who, lately thrown upon her own guidance and responsibility, could scarcely have made a more unfortunate selection of her future adviser. His losses in France, added to his quarrel with the Earl of Warwick, rendered her favour, which she avowed so recklessly as to incur much bitter comment and censure, a sure means of attracting powerful opposition to their united plans, in fact, the position of affairs at this juncture was so critical as to induce an open and speedy rupture, when, upon York's return from Ireland, the king, by advice of his wife, opposed his landing, and absolutely compelled him to effect his purpose at another port, whence, hastening to London, he shortly afterwards appeared in arms at the head of 10,000 men. The impending storm was averted by Henry's concession to York's principal requisition, namely, the committal of Somerset to the Tower, who, instead of being at once arrested, was, by the queen's contrivance, secreted behind the arras in the king's pavilion, during the latter's interview with his rebellious subject, whence, unable to bear timely the contumelious terms in which his rival upbraided him to the sovereign, he rushed forth and confronted his accuser, to the latter's great amazement, and the sad discredit both of Margaret and the king. The scene terminated in the Duke of York's arrest, but Henry, feeling himself still sufficiently powerful in the realm to prevent further mischief, permitted him to retire to his castle of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales, leaving Somerset to enjoy unopposed the queen's blind partiality.

At this time was it, when threatened by all the sad disasters of civil war, and smarting under the loss of Guenne, and its attendant blood-hed in France, that Margaret became a mother, but the birth of this first, and, as it proved, only child, was regarded with no pleasure by the nation, and seemed fated to be the augury of fresh misfortunes to its parents, occurring simultaneously with the illness of the king, who fell sick at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, and shortly after confirmed the fears of his friends by evincing decided mental aberration. These circumstances probably induced the Duke of York to relinquish at once all disguise, and to assume a more determined position. He is said to have cast doubts upon the legitimacy of the infant prince, which

probably he himself in sincerity did not entertain. At all events, the appearance of young Edward removed the last scruple in asserting his claim to a crown, which he might patiently have awaited until the death of the sickly monarch, but would not calmly surrender to the present unexpected succession. Queen Margaret was not yet twenty-four years of age when this her only child was born. The hapless prince was born on the 13th of October, 1453, at Westminster, to which palace his royal sire had been removed, and was lying utterly incapable of recognising the intelligence of an event, which he otherwise might have looked upon as

“— the rainbow of his future years,”

in the midst of darkness and sorrow.

But the king's malady was productive of serious political embarrassment to the queen and her partisans, besides the infliction of domestic distress ; for, unsupported by the shadow of Henry's authority, which hitherto had sanctioned all her measures, Margaret was compelled to yield a tacit consent to those laid down for her, in the imprisonment of the Duke of Somerset and the appointment of York as protector. In fact, the former was “arrested in the queen's greate chamber,” and sent to the Tower, where, as Stow quaintly observes, “he kept his Christmas without great solemnity.” York, meanwhile, “bearing all the rule, governed as regent ;” but when all for a period appeared lost, the king unexpectedly “recovered, caused the Duke of Somerset to be set at liberty, and preferred him to be captain of Calais, wherewith not only the Commons, but many of the nobility, favourers of Richard, duke of Yorke, were greatly grieved and offended, saying that he had lost Normandy, and would lose also Calais.”¹

York, from the contrariety of occurrences to his wishes, and foiled in his last expedient for preserving peace, hurried by his party into measures which his own moderation reprehended, after an unsuccessful attempt at the arbitration of his quarrel with Somerset, retired into Wales, and employed himself in raising an army, soon to strike the first blow in the memorable contest between the rival Red and White Roses, which plucked from the bosom of the isle “the pale and maiden blossom”—peace, and “incarnadined” the green fields of England with the blood of her noblest children.

After the battle of St. Alban's, which was fought on the 23rd of May, 1455, and lasted but an hour, the king was taken prisoner by the Duke of York, and, having sustained a slight wound, was conducted

¹ Stow

with much care to London, while the death of Somerset, who, with Lords Clifford, Strafford, and Northumberland, fell in this action, would have apparently dissipated the expectation of a successful endeavour to regain power, to one less energetic than the queen. The engagement itself was indeed a signal warning of the disasters of future conflicts. It was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalled by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England.

Thwarted however, in her military manœuvres, and for a time subjected again to the restriction of the Duke of York's authority, who resumed the protectorship on the king's relapse, Margaret, to all appearance absorbed in her devotion to her husband and son at Greenwich, employed her energies secretly, and, as it appears, with success in promoting division in the council, and neutralising by every obstacle in her power the efficiency and fulfilment of her opponents' plans. With Henry, son of the late Duke of Somerset, as her newly established counsellor, whose ardent desire to revenge his father's death rendered him a ready coadjutor in her resolute policy, it is not astounding that in the beginning of the year 1456 we find York again removed from office, and the queen availing herself of Henry's partial recovery to address letters "under the privy seal," to York, Salisbury, and Warwick, requesting their immediate presence, as if on affairs of state, but in reality to get them into her power. The court was at this time in Coventry, whither Margaret had removed with the king, not thinking the latter safe in the capital, but by good fortune the three peers who had already so far obeyed the writ of summons as to have commenced their journey, were warned by private emissaries of their danger, and withdrew with the greatest despatch, each to his safest place of retreat. "The queen was extremely vexed at this disappointment, but her comfort was that she had separated the three lords, and so rendered them less formidable to her." Meanwhile the French and Scots taking advantage of the quarrel to invade the kingdom, she, in alarm, was this time sincere in her desire for domestic amity, to secure the king's and her own safety, and to present unanimity of counsel in resistance to the common foe.

For this purpose, and by means of ecclesiastical influence, a public reconciliation took place, the speciousness of which was betrayed by

the pomp employed in its demonstration. There is something almost farcical in the parade with which the belligerents made their triumphal entry into London ; the queen for once so far forced to "digest the venom of her spleen" as to walk hand in hand with the Duke of York, though the amount of real cordiality between them was speedily evinced by a trivial quarrel amongst the subordinates, sufficing to induce a renewal of hostilities, and to urge the procuring by Margaret of an order to arrest Warwick, the special object of her unconquerable hate. Of this, however, the earl again received timely warning, and escaped to his government of Calais, which, "as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance in the present juncture :"¹ but the queen did not relax her efforts in raising troops ; on the contrary, at the battle of Bloreheath, in the summer of 1459, Henry being too ill to assume the command, she, if not actually on the field, was sufficiently near to act as the presiding spirit of the fray. In fact, disaster seemed only to elicit fresh resources of energy and resolution ; and upon the flight of the royalists we find her, after her return to Coventry, rallying her adherents with such success as to be able, in seven months, again to take the field against the rebels, to whom she offered terms. Fortune here appears to have favoured the queen's assumption of the entire management of the war ; and with the troops she had by her own perseverance collected, she pressed the insurgents so vigorously as to force the Duke of York, with his second son, Edmund, earl of Rutland, to fly to Ireland, whilst the eldest, the Earl of March, followed Warwick to Calais, there to remain until the ensuing year, when they both returned to London, re-animated by some recent naval successes, and found themselves possessed of sufficient strength to hazard the battle of Northampton. Neither was Margaret less desirous for the engagement, which occurred July 10th, 1460 ; though, notwithstanding her personal presence and direction, treachery assisted the banner of the White Rose, several of her most gallant adherents were slain, and her royal husband a second time taken prisoner, having remained with characteristic placidity in his tent.

Immediately upon his return to London, the Duke of York, employing the king's name, convened a parliament, at the opening of which he "sate himself down in the king's chair, under the cloth of state, where, after having sate awhile, he told them a long rabble of reasons why he had sate down in that place, that by the law it was due unto

him ; and being desired to go visit the king, he said, God excepted, he knew no superior." This account seems to imply that the duke's deference to his sovereign, hitherto so uniformly demonstrated, was somewhat lessened by exasperation ; but at all events, Margaret, aware that she could expect but little forbearance, rather than *confide* in the magnanimity of her enemy, fled to Durham, whence, with only eight persons, she passed into Wales, and subsequently into Scotland. Here, tidings shortly after reached her, that Henry had formally conceded his own son's right to the succession of the throne in favour of the Duke of York and his descendants ; yet even this, the bitterest intelligence to

" ——— A princess, whose declining head,
Like to a drooping lily after storms,
Had bowed to her foes' feet, and played the slave .
To keep her husband's greatness unabated,"—

tidings full of anguish, sent by him who might at least have learned from her heroism to defend the claim of the hapless scion of royalty, now an exiled wanderer from his sire and heritage, in the helplessness of childhood,—failed to quench the fire of Margaret's indomitable spirit ; and supplying, by the zeal of a mother's fondness, her husband's infirmity of purpose, she set about the levy of new subsidies in Scotland, where she experienced less difficulty than might have been anticipated. An obstacle was attempted to her designs in the shape of an order from the king to join him without delay, but recognising York as the originator of this manœuvre, she obeyed the mandate by marching into England at the head of between eighteen and twenty thousand men.

A surprisal so sudden took the duke utterly at a disadvantage ; yet, under the impulse of an obvious necessity, he hastened to check her warlike majesty's advance, with about five thousand men, the only force available at this critical emergency. Upon the discovery of his inability to cope with his threatening foe, he retired to Sandal Castle, a fortress strong enough to defy siege, wherein he determined to await fresh succours ; but, alas ! he was doomed to experience the truth that the tongue is sometimes a sharper weapon than the sword, and that a woman's taunts pierce through armour *which might defy the thrusts of the steel*. Secure in her superior numbers, Margaret resolved to force her adversary from his entrenchments, and, marching her troops under the castle walls, assailed the duke in terms of such bitter contumely, and with such sarcastic reflection upon his cowardice in fearing to face a woman, that, exasperated beyond all prudence, he sallied from the

gates and soon found himself overwhelmed by the vast disproportion of an enemy, whose advantage was augmented by an ambush previously prepared by the queen. The struggle was neither dubious nor protracted ; in less than half an hour two thousand Yorkists, with their leader, lay dead on Wakefield Green ; and so fiercely were the passions of the combatants inflamed, that even after the engagement, when Aspill, the late duke's chaplain, endeavoured to save the life of the young Earl of Rutland, his pupil, by declaring his parentage to Lord Clifford, the latter "struck his dagger into the boy's heart, and went on his way rejoicing at the most barbarous and inhuman revenge that ever cruel man took." It was this relentless soldier, whose strong political partisanship was aggravated by the recollection of his father's death at St. Alban's, who brought the head of York to the queen placed on the point of a spear and crowned with a paper diadem, saying, "Madame, your woe is done ; here is your king's ransom." Margaret is said to have been at first shocked at the bloody sight. She averted from it her eyes, pale and trembling : but, anon, at the memory of the insults and wrongs which he had heaped upon her and hers, how he had sought to dishonour her name, and to annihilate her race,—she laughed loud and hysterically, and commanded the head to be placed over the gates of York. Salisbury was executed by the queen's command on the following day, and his head placed beside that of the Duke of York, which was still surmounted by its paper crown, "in derision of his pretended title." This further cruelty was equally needless as excessive, since the unhappy earl, already languishing from the effects of a wound, would scarcely have survived to endure the threatened horrors of captivity, but with blind fury Margaret "disgraced her triumph, and that of the house of Lancaster," by such acts as these ; and "spent her time in the execution of her prisoners, instead of improving the victory by rapid advances towards the capital." But the season of retaliation was not long procrastinated, for upon her army's march from the north, the queen herself commanding one division, and the Earl of Pembroke, the king's half-brother, the other, the latter was met at Mortimer's Cross by the Earl of March, now become Duke of York, and the defeat of the royalists presented an opportunity too readily embraced for the exercise of sanguinary reprisals. Margaret appears to have been more successful, and St. Alban's was a second time the scene of a fierce engagement, which terminated in her favour, notwithstanding that Warwick, the leader of the rebels, had been reinforced by his friends the Londoners.

It may be supposed that the separation of the royal pair since the king's capture at Northampton rendered this victory doubly acceptable—its result was their reunion. Warwick had brought the king along with him in his escape; but of this the queen was not aware till his faithful attendant ran to Lord Clifford's quarters to announce the fact. They met in the tent of Clifford, with the most lively demonstrations of affectionate joy, and the king, at his consort's desire, conferred the dignity of knighthood upon "their sonne, Prince Edward, and thirty more of them who had valiantly behaved themselves in the battell," yet could neither the dictates of her gentler nature nor the promises of her lord avail to induce her to relinquish her unfeminine resolves, and on Ash-Wednesday, in defiance of Henry's personal protection, the execution of Lord Bouville and Sir Thomas Kyriel took place, as we read, even before her eyes, and in presence of the youthful prince!

Nature herself seemed to conspire to complete the ruin of the unhappy Henry, by annihilating the last hope of his energetic consort. A storm of sleet driving full in the faces of the Lancastrians, decided the contest of Towton. In vain were their arrows spent upon the ground lately occupied by their opponents, who, under cover of the snow, had retreated from beyond their range. Incapable of further attack, by the exhaustion of their weapons, these last were returned upon them, and they were literally cut to pieces, "many being slain with their own shafts, picked from the field." Upon receiving the account of this signal defeat, Henry and Margaret, possessed now of no refuge in the country, of which they were become but nominally the sovereigns, hurried with the Duke of Exeter to Scotland, where they were permitted for a short time to repose, the English reigning monarch contenting himself with passing a bill of attainder upon each several member of the exiled royal family. This was also extended to many of the noblest of their adherents, and the dethroned princes had soon to expend bitter and unavailing regrets upon the fate of those tried friends in their adversity, whose devotion to the interests of their fallen house was terribly to be expiated on the scaffold.

If forbearance towards her captive adversaries be a quality of heroism which Margaret needed, her pre-eminent magnanimity in misfortune justly entitles her to the appellation of a great queen ; and it is difficult to express adequately our admiration of the fortitude and perseverance with which, at this dark period of her history, she endeavoured to obtain aid from Scotland, with every counter-influence employed against her. Not only had she to buy the assistance she required by the cession of the town of Berwick, a measure which added immensely to her unpopularity in England, and the betrothal of her son to the sister of James, but to proceed alone to France, there to solicit further supplies of men and money from her first cousin Louis, who had succeeded his father, Charles the Seventh. It was no new trial to the forlorn queen to venture upon this difficult mission, unsupported but by its great purport, the restoration of her husband's rights. She had ever been the one to decide, and to a mind now cognisant of its own intrinsic power, action, ever preferable to apathy assumed its fullest scope when unfettered by the opinions of others. But for her son she might have resigned the stake for which she so ardently played, and retired with contentment to the privacy more congenial to her mild and saintly spouse ; but with the powerful incentive not of Henry's right alone, but that of the anticipated line of

rejoicing at his return to loyalty in the remarkable exclamation, "I have saved the bird in my bosom." Margaret, after an absence of five months had herself only reached England again as by miracle. The storm which had cast her fleet on the coast of Bamborough had left only herself, her son, and De Brezé safe on the shore. They had escaped in a fishing-boat. The fleet and money which now were lost had been procured as with her life-blood. The wily French king loth to offend Edward the Fourth, now on the ascendant, and yet desirous to take advantage of Margaret's distresses, would only consent to advance these supplies on condition that Margaret conceded Calais to him. This was another of those acts which, in desperate circumstances, the queen was driven to, and which were made by her enemies to tell so much against her with the people.

After her perilous escape, Margaret concealed herself and her son in the forest of Hexham, where the scene of her meeting with the robber occurred, familiar to our earliest associations; the gallant bandit, according to the historical narrative, attending the illustrious fugitives "willingly, and conducting them in safety toward the sea-shore, whence they arrived at Sluys, and afterwards went to Bruges, where they were received most honourably. At Bethune a body of the Duke of Burgundy's archers met and escorted them to St. Pol; and, indeed, the treatment Margaret experienced from this prince was so opposed to the feelings she entertained for him, that it is said she repented much, and thought herself unfortunate that she had not sooner thrown herself on his protection, as her affairs would probably have prospered better."¹ We may hope that similar examples of honourable commiseration alleviated in some degree the seven long years of subsequent separation from her husband, which she passed while devoting herself to the education of her son, who now, under the instruction of Sir John Fortescue, was becoming an interesting and attractive youth, capable of cheering the weary exile, by the promise of a perpetuity of his father's virtues without the imbecility which obscured them.

The hopes, however, which still slumbered in her own breast Margaret sedulously strengthened in her son, neither calculating the probability of a fatal issue to herself, nor to him whom they were to consign to an early grave, while they accelerated his father's death. The year 1469 saw these too precarious visions assume a tangible form. Constantly informed by her emissaries of the state of England, where many continued their correspondence with the banished consort of the

¹ Monstrelet.

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house of Lancaster, despite King Edward's efforts to secure their attachment ; it was reserved, in the strange fabric of her fate, for the queen's bitterest enemy now to weave the most critical tissue of her destiny. The Earl of Warwick, whose quarrel with the house of York has been variously accounted for, but whose anger might alone be justified by the treatment he had received from the king respecting Edward's marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the French queen, quitted the English court in disgust, and applying to Louis of France, so far gained his co-operation, that Margaret was, the following year, sent for from Angers, where she had latterly resided, and after some difficulty persuaded to give him a meeting. It is fruitless to investigate the motives of either party for the reconciliation itself, or for the restoration of mutual confidence. That Warwick should marry one daughter to the Duke of Clarence, the reigning king's brother, yet negotiate a union for the other with the heir of Lancaster, whose interests he was thus solemnly pledged to promote, appears to the last degree inexplicable. Doubtless consistency was not the virtue of the age ! Were any letters of Margaret extant, a clue might be afforded in this labyrinth of history, as it is, we have only to record the bare facts of the meeting and the reconciliation, followed by Margaret's consent to Warwick for the alliance between their children. The fair and unfortunate Anne Neville was married to the Prince of Wales in August, 1470 ; and Warwick, upon the completion of the ceremony, sailed for England, there to enkindle again the flame of war, which had so long devastated her green vales. Under the joyous excitement of the earl's commencing success, and the prestige of its continuance afforded by tidings of Henry's emancipation, the queen, with the young married pair, the bride's mother, the prior of St. John, and as large an armament as King Louis and her father could afford, set forth from France in the following February. But again was the stormy passage she encountered the sad presage of the fatal welcome awaiting her advent to the land of her adoption and misfortunes ; and hardly had she touched the shore when intelligence was brought of the disastrous action of Barnet, the deaths of Warwick and Montague, and the recapture of the wretched Henry. The sudden transition from joy to the abyss of hopelessness was too much even for the iron spirit which had stood unshaken, nor shown a sign of weakness, under trials which might have made the sternest natures quail : her suffering was so intense and appalling, that "she fell down as if pierced with an arrow." For a space her energies seemed paralysed for ever, her courage

vanished—her hopes, her fears, at an end! There is a point at which anguish becomes temporarily its own remedy, and insensibility is the anodyne of speechless sorrow. This solace was hers!

It had been well for the unhappy queen if she had never awakened from her swoon of despair, or re-opened those eyes, fated so soon to rest upon a scene of woe unexampled even in her calamitous career. After a short sanctuary at Beaulieu, in Hampshire, upon the receipt of the adherence of several lords, she once more set forth with many misgivings for "the prince her son's safety," whom she vainly urged to retire to France, and, arriving at Bath, there assembled her friends with the wreck of the army of Warwick. On the 27th of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, Edward, who had again publicly proscribed herself and her partisans, set off in pursuit of the queen's army, with which he came up at Tewkesbury, Gloucester having refused to open its gates upon her approach. Occupying a position most advantageous to her enemy, inferior in strength, and subject to the treachery or cowardice of one of her generals; with an army commanded by the prince her son, whose courage was neutralised by inexperience, Margaret witnessed on this her last battle-field the total dispersion of her faithful but diminished adherents, and, together with her son, was dragged to the tent of her ungenerous and exasperated foe.

Shakspeare has vividly portrayed the harrowing circumstances of this young prince's death, killed in cold blood before the eyes of his agonised mother, who survived to endure the miseries of imprisonment, after tasting, what to her spirit must have been worse than death, the disgrace of a public entry into London in the train of her conqueror, her wretchedness arriving at its climax in the dark and mysterious tragedy of her husband's murder. This murder was perpetrated the very night that Margaret herself was consigned to the Tower. There for five years Henry had been imprisoned. But it was now necessary to the usurper that the public should be convinced that the deposed monarch no longer existed. Therefore, according to Leland, that night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third, and divers of his men, assassinated the helpless and meek-spirited king. The next day his bloody corpse was exposed to public view in St. Paul's. It was then conveyed silently up the Thames by boat to Chertsey Abbey, where it was interred.

It was scarcely to be wondered at, that, though no longer formidable to the reigning family, Margaret should have been subjected to a rigorous confinement; but by degrees this was considerably relaxed,

and at the conclusion of the year 1475, the first instalment of her ransom being paid, she departed from her prison in Wallingford Castle, where she had been under the care of the Duchess of Suffolk, granddaughter of Chaucer the poet, and sailed for France. It is a matter of question how much of credit for her delivery belongs to her father's affection, or to the liberality of her selfish cousin Louis, who has been generally supposed to have effected it. King Edward was at this time negotiating a marriage between Elizabeth of York (formerly offered to Prince Edward of Lancaster) and the dauphin, when the ransom of Margaret was arranged. The King of Sicily entered into engagements with the King of France, that the county of Provence after his decease should revert to the latter, and be united for ever to the crown, in return for which she was released, and joined her father in the cession. Du Clos, however, affirms that "on the 7th of March, 1476, she renounced all her claims to the county in favour of the king; this was two months before the treaty with King René was concluded," and between four and five months after she had quitted England. The first instalment was paid in November, 1475, the last in March, 1480, the whole sum being 50,000 crowns.

Within a mile or two of Angers, in a castle belonging to King René, were spent many of the closing years of one who, in the solitude of her undisturbed retreat, could indulge to the full the melancholy reminiscences of her eventful life, absorbed apparently in the past, and with affections too exhausted to allow of any interest in the future. On the death of her father, Margaret surrendered all the claims on Louvaine, Anjou, Provence, and other territories, which the death of her elder sister and children might give her, to Louis the Eleventh, for a pension of six thousand livres, which, however, was very badly paid. She then retired to the house of a faithful officer and friend of her father's, Francis Vignolles, lord of Moraens. In his château of Dampierre, near Saumur, she breathed her last two years afterwards. She had outlived most of the family of her father and his many brothers, as well as her own. Her terrible afflictions had so changed her whole appearance, that from the most beautiful woman of her time, she was become awful to look on. Her eyes with constant weeping were sunken, dim, and perpetually inflamed. The deaths of many noble persons of both sexes rendered the same year (1482) memorable; yet, though several amongst these exceeded the period of her own existence, fifty years, it is certain that no "storied urn or record" of her contemporaries comprehends an equal amount of fame or vicissitude as attach

to her, whose resting-place is distinguished by no monument save the venerable pile of Angers Cathedral, where she was entombed.

Hume says of her that she was "an admirable princess, but more illustrious for her undaunted spirit in adversity than for her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues nor been subject to the weaknesses of her sex, and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived." Yet, when we consider the uncertainty, which to an extent greater than at any other time envelopes this portion of English history, how vague and contradictory, above all, how partial, are the records of the Wars of the Roses!—an obscurity more remarkable in that it "falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe," surely we may allow admiration for some of the events of her life, and pity for them all, to preponderate over the censure which her characteristics would probably seem less to merit, if more accurate sources of information as to motives were available.

ELIZABETH WOODVILLE,

— QUEEN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH

ELIZABETH WOODVILLE—whose rise from the poor and destitute widow of John Grey, son of Lord Ferrers of Groby, to the throne of England, excited no small degree of astonishment and some displeasure, not only in the nation at large, but in certain high quarters—was born about the year 1431, at Grafton Castle

It seemed as if love had resolved to do more than strike a balance in the fortunes of the family by thus elevating Elizabeth as many degrees above the station that Fate seemed to have assigned her, as he had caused her mother to descend below the high estate which her birth and her first marriage gave to her. A princess of the house of Luxemburgh, this lady became the wife of the Duke of Bedford, and some time after his death, captivated by the attractions of Richard Woodville, a squire of Henry the Fifth, and considered the handsomest man in England, she married him privately, and was for some years his wife before the secret transpired. Notwithstanding this *mésalliance*, and her indifferent circumstances, the Duchess of Bedford could not but maintain a certain influence in the kingdom, of which, on the deaths of the queens Katherine and Joanna, she became, for some period, the first lady. Through this influence, and the assistance of Cardinal Beaufort, her terrible ~~at~~ was raised to the rank of baron and afterwards Earl.



follower in such high esteem that he particularly recommended him, by letter, to the fair Elizabeth, as did the Earl of Warwick ; but whether it was the purse or the person of the suitor that did not meet her approbation (and the after-career of the lady leads us to suspect that the state of the former was likely to have no small influence in her decision), the young knight received little favour at her hands, and was, after some deliberation, finally rejected. Not very long after, she accepted the proposals of John Grey, son and heir of the wealthy and powerful Lord Ferrers of Groby ; thus securing what appeared to all a most advantageous and desirable alliance in every point of view, he being highly spoken of personally, as well as for the position he occupied, and being a staunch adherent of the Lancastrian cause, which, of course, gave her additional favour with her royal mistress. At this period, 1452, Elizabeth was about twenty-one years of age.

The father of John Grey dying in the year 1457, he became Lord Ferrers ; but owing to the distracted state of the country, for the war of the Roses was then at its height, he was obliged to remain at his post as commander of the queen's cavalry, instead of taking his place in the House of Peers.

Elizabeth followed her husband in one or more of his campaigns, and is said to have acted, on a certain occasion, as a spy in the camp of Warwick, whither she was sent by Margaret of Anjou under pretext of requesting some personal favour for herself, the earl being known to entertain a considerable regard for her, notwithstanding her preference of the Lancastrian champion to the suitor he had so strongly urged her to accept. But this life of turmoil and anxiety, harassing and distressing as it must have been to a court-bred beauty, was soon to be succeeded by a far heavier state of suffering ; for at the second battle of St Alban's her gallant husband, who had mainly assisted in obtaining the brilliant but fleeting triumph of his party, was so severely wounded that he died shortly afterwards, on the 28th of February, 1461, leaving her a desolate widow with two sons, who, out of revenge for the part their father had taken against the Yorkists, were deprived of their patrimony of Bradgate, where they were born, and were living with their mother in retirement and poverty when Edward the Fourth ascended the throne.

The reconciliation between the Duchess of Bedford and the king occurred some considerable time before Edward wooed, or had probably even seen her daughter ; as in the first year of Edward's reign he not only paid the duchess the annual amount of her dower, but added 100*l*.

when, in the following year, a princess was born, their policy in choosing the child's grandmother, the Duchess of York, for one of the sponsors, succeeded in soothing her violent disapprobation of her son's choice. But one implacable enemy was made whom no attempts at conciliation could win—the Earl of Warwick; and though at this precise period his animosity was not yet developed, as is shown by the fact of his standing godfather to this princess, it was at no distant time fully called forth by various circumstances,—among others, that of the queen artfully succeeding in marrying the heiress of the Duke of Exeter to her eldest son by her first husband, when Warwick had set his heart on securing her for his nephew, George Neville.

It has been stated also, by some historians, that Edward had ventured to offer an insult to the daughter of Warwick—the very person whom the ambitious earl had from her childhood hoped to see his bride, until the accession of Elizabeth Woodville to that dignity dealt the deathblow to these aspirations.

And now a storm, which had long been gathering and gaining force, began to burst forth. Robin of Redesdale, reported to have been a noble outlawed for his exertions in behalf of the house of Lancaster, with a large body of insurgents, fought and conquered the royal troops at Edgecote, in Yorkshire; and finding Lord Rivers, against whom the people entertained a furious indignation in consequence of his having, in his capacity of Lord Treasurer, tampered with the coin, they dragged him and his son John from their place of concealment in the forest of Deane, and led them, in the names of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, to Northampton, where they beheaded them without even the form of a trial (1469). But even this was not sufficient to satisfy their thirst for vengeance on the queen's family; for an accusation of witchcraft was brought against her mother, who with some difficulty escaped the fearful doom intended for her.

No sooner did the intelligence of these outrages reach the ears of Edward than he resolved to set off in person to quell the insurgents and restore order; but on his reaching the north he was seized by his powerful and implacable enemy, Warwick, and confined in Warwick Castle, where he was induced to enter into negotiations with the earl for the marriage of his infant daughter with George Neville. From this place he was conveyed, strictly guarded, to the seat of the Archbishop of York, brother to Warwick, and, after a short stay, succeeded in escaping to Windsor, whence he went at once to London to rejoin the queen, who had remained there, surrounded by faithful and

devoted subjects, as all the inhabitants of the metropolis had continued to be.

And now the tide of fortune turned for a while : Warwick and Clarence in alarm fled to France, but Anthony Woodville, who commanded the royal fleet, succeeded in taking possession of all their ships, with the exception of that which contained them and their families.

Edward now proceeded to give battle to the rebels, but soon discovered that little confidence was to be placed in his own troops, for on Warwick returning to England they offered to surrender the king to him ; Edward, however, obtaining secret intelligence of their intended treachery, fled in the night-time, and, attended by a few faithful adherents, embarked at Lynn, in Norfolk.

At this period, Elizabeth, who had been lodged by Edward in the Tower for security, taking alarm at the increasing dangers which surrounded her, abandoned her intention of weathering the storm there, and, accompanied by her mother, her three daughters, and her devoted attendant, Lady Scrope, she fled to the Sanctuary at Westminster, a gloomy and dismal abode, without one of the comforts which her situation, for she was again about to become a mother, rendered doubly necessary. Such was the condition to which the unfortunate queen and her party were reduced, that, had not a butcher charitably supplied them with meat, they must have been starved into surrendering themselves to their enemies.

And here in this wretched spot did the heir to England's throne come into the world, on the 1st November, 1470, and but for the chance assistance of a midwife, who, happily, was in the Sanctuary at the time, the unfortunate Elizabeth and her infant son would have been utterly destitute of proper attendance in this hour of pain and peril. Soon after his birth the little prince was baptized, with the utmost privacy and simplicity, at Westminster Abbey ; the Abbot of Westminster, the Duchess of Bedford, and Lady Scrope standing sponsors. He was named Edward, after his father.

From this period until the month of April following the queen remained shut up in the Sanctuary, when the king, who had landed in England in March, and had, almost unopposed, made his way to the capital, which instantly surrendered to him, came to release her from her long and painful imprisonment, for such in fact it was. Great was his joy once more to behold her, and to greet his first-born son ; and nobly did he reward the few friends who had faithfully assisted her during the dark and disastrous times she had gone through.

From the Sanctuary, Edward carried his wife and children to

Gloucester did not yet venture to throw off the mask ; for, even while gradually removing the persons who, like Hastings, were sincerely devoted to the rightful heirs of the throne, he continued to make pretended preparations for the coronation of Edward the Fifth ; but shortly after the murder of Hastings, a petition, got up by Richard's party, was presented in parliament to exclude the sons of Edward the Fourth from the succession, declaring that the marriage between him and Elizabeth was illegal, and the children consequently illegitimate ; and no sooner was this petition presented than Richard caused himself to be proclaimed king, which was done in June, 1483.

The murders of the young princes, the details of which are too circumstantial, and the corroborative evidence, since produced by the discovery of the bodies in the Record Office, which was formerly the Tower Chapel, too strong to leave a reasonable doubt as to their authenticity, were perpetrated shortly after, and Richard began to breathe more freely.

It is little to the credit of the queen and of her daughter Elizabeth, that after the usurpation of Richard, and his murder of the two sons of the queen—the two brothers of the princess, these ladies were anxious to ally themselves to the tyrant and murderer by marriage. Elizabeth was extremely and even revoltingly anxious for the death of Anne, Richard's queen. In a letter to Howard, Duke of Norfolk, she called Richard "her joy and maker in this world—the master of her heart and thoughts." She expressed her surprise that the queen was so long in dying, adding, "Would she never die?"

These are melancholy exhibitions of human nature. The Queen, Anne of Warwick, died ; but Richard, deterred by powerful political motives, declined marrying Elizabeth.

The queen, whose maternal anguish, or, perhaps, rather ambition threatened to destroy her, was constantly visited in the Sanctuary by a physician, who, being also a priest, found frequent opportunities of conferring with her in secret ; and, through him, negotiations were commenced between her and Margaret Beaufort, which terminated in Elizabeth's consenting to recognise Margaret's son, Henry, Earl of Richmond, the last of the Lancastrian line, as king of England, on his marrying her daughter Elizabeth, and finding means to dispossess Richard of the throne.

The failure of the insurrection of Buckingham, who, disgusted with some act of the usurper, had taken up arms against him, and was joined by Dorset, the queen's eldest son, and her brother Sir Edward



ANNE OF WARWICK,

WIFE OF RICHARD THE THIRD

ANNE of Warwick, the subject of this memoir, was descended from some of the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, her grandfather, was of that numerous and extraordinary family of the great Eâil of Westmoreland, each of whom took a prominent part in the annals of this country during that eventful period, the fifteenth century. The father of Anne Neville was the far-famed Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the son of the Earl of Salisbury, whom the chronicleis of that day distinguish as the "king-maker," and "the most potent earl that England ever saw." He became Earl of Warwick, and took the name of Beauchamp in right of his wife

On the maternal side the ancestors of Anne Neville (for that was her family name) were not less illustrious. Her mother, Anne, was daughter to the great Earl of Warwick, so renowned in the wars of France in the reign of Henry the Sixth. This earl had but one son and one daughter, both of whom he allied to the house of Salisbury in marriage. His son was Henry Beauchamp, the chief favourite of the Lancastrian king, who conferred upon him every possible dignity, making him Premier of England, Duke of Warwick, and King of the Isle of Wight. But this accomplished nobleman died at an early age, and his infant daughter did not long survive him, and after her death, Anne, the sister of Duke Henry, came into possession of the family estates, and her husband, the son of the Earl of Salisbury, assumed, in her right, the title of Earl of Warwick.

The Countess of Warwick had but two daughters, named Isabella and Anne, and both of them were, like herself, destined to experience many vicissitudes and misfortunes in those rebellious times. But more peculiarly was it the fate of the younger of these, Anne of Warwick, to be a child of sorrow. This lady was the first who bore the title of

Princess of Wales, and she was the last queen of the race of Plantagenet. Yet we find some difficulty in tracing her eventful history, in its extremes of prosperity and adversity, and blended as it is with the annals of party strife.

Anne Neville was born in the castle of Warwick in the year 1454, just at the commencement of the civil war between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, in which her father took so prominent a part. At first the Earl of Warwick was the chief supporter of the Duke of York and his party; and it was mainly through his influence that Edward, Earl of March, the son of the duke, became King of England. Owing to these circumstances, Anne of Warwick, as tradition tells us, became in her youth much associated with her cousins of the house of York, the youngest of whom, Richard, entertained for her a strong and ardent affection. But he was not the object of the early choice of this princess. Nor was this very surprising; for this duke, who, upon his brother's accession, obtained the title of Duke of Gloucester, was deformed in person. "At his nativity," says Rous, a contemporary, "the scorpion was in the ascendant. He came into the world with teeth, and with a head of hair reaching to his shoulders. He was small of stature, with a short face and unequal shoulders, the right being higher than the left." The hateful qualities of his mind were even less likely to win upon the regard of the gentle Anne, who from the first seems to have looked upon him with feelings of aversion and dread.

Warwick had united his eldest daughter, Isabella, to George, Duke of Clarence, the brother of Richard, for the purpose of attaching him to his interests, at the time when, withdrawing in disgust from the court of King Edward, where he felt he had been treated with undeserved neglect and indifference, he had resolved to revenge himself.

The town of Calais had ever been favourable to the Earl of Warwick, who had placed over it, as deputy-lieutenant in his absence, a Gascon named Vauclere, in whom he had great confidence. To Calais, therefore, the fugitives bent their course ; but great was their surprise, upon their approach, to be saluted by a cannon-ball, and to meet with an obstinate resistance. All they could procure was a little wine for the relief of the duchess, who, on board the ship, had just given birth to a son, destined from his first entrance into the world to inherit the misfortunes of his parents. The messenger of Vauclere, however, informed the Earl of Warwick that he was still devoted to his service ; but that he had acted in this manner to prevent the earl entering the town, which would have been attended with great danger. He assured him, however, that he might still rely upon his fidelity ; on which, the earl steered to Dieppe, where the two ladies were safely landed ; and they afterwards proceeded to Amboise to meet the King of France, who gave them a favourable reception.

This monarch during their stay sent for the unfortunate Queen Margaret of Anjou, who had at this time been residing at the court of her father, King René, at Angers. The Lancastrian queen was the mortal enemy of the Earl of Warwick, not only on account of the favour he had shown to the party of the Yorkists, but also for the personal indignities he had cast upon herself and her husband, the meek monarch Henry the Sixth. The Earl of Warwick no less hated Queen Margaret ; but at this time a stronger passion prevailed, one that overruled every other,—it was revenge against King Edward ; and to gratify this he was willing to forget every other enmity.

By advice of the French king, both parties agreed to forget their former animosities, and by uniting their interests, and making one common cause, to raise again the standard of King Henry, and effect the downfall of Edward the Fourth, an object which both earnestly desired, but which neither could effect without the other. The King of France, too, had his share in this matter ; for he sought, by the revival of the wars in England, to prevent King Edward from interfering with foreign affairs.

The terms of the agreement were, that the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick should endeavour to restore Henry the Sixth to the throne ; that they should afterwards be allowed to rule the kingdom during the king's life and his son's minority ; and that, to confirm this unlooked-for agreement, the Prince of Wales should marry the youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick. The young Edward was accordingly united to Anne of Warwick, and thus by the marriage

of his two daughters, the earl became equally allied to the two rival houses of York and Lancaster.

There were many severe struggles in the breast of the unfortunate Queen Margaret, before she could consent to the marriage of her beloved son with the daughter of her greatest enemy, and during twelve days she obstinately persisted in maintaining her refusal. But her scruples were at length overcome by persuasions on all sides, and moreover, it is probable, that when the earl for political reasons offered the hand of his daughter to the heir of Lancaster, it was willingly accepted by him; and this union, which was based on mutual affection, was not less agreeable to the Princess Anne, who has been described as superior to her sister, the Duchess of Clarence, but whether in the accomplishments of the mind, or in the nobler qualities of the heart, is left to conjecture.

Prince Edward was at this time only in the nineteenth year of his age; he was both handsome and accomplished, and had been well instructed under that learned preceptor, Fortescue, who was at one time Chancellor of England. No wonder, therefore, that the Lady Anne, now in her seventeenth year, should show a marked preference for the Lancastrian prince, in whom she must have perceived a lively contrast to her former lover, the Duke of Gloucester. This unexpected marriage was celebrated immediately in the presence of Queen Margaret, the Earl of Warwick, the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, and the King of France and his court. It took place at Angers, in August, 1470.

There are some writers, however, who affirm that only the contract for this union was signed, and that it was never the intention of Queen Margaret that it should take place. Certain it is, that the disastrous events which succeeded must have rendered the solemnisation of this marriage impossible at a subsequent period, and very brief indeed must have been the happiness of the Lady Anne, who passed only a few months with the young prince the object of her choice. It was but that short period intervening between the day of their marriage and the battle of Tewkesbury, which took place on the 4th of May in the following year.

Anne of Warwick, in the picture before us, appears as in her happiest hours, when the bride of the young Prince Edward, the heir of the English throne. In that fair and intelligent countenance, hope and joy are blended, with a sweet and calm content, exhibiting that sunshine of the heart, which fate denied to her in the latter period of her life, when she shared the regal honours of the blood-stained

Richard of Gloucester, her present husband's murderer. Her expression is that of innocence and peace, forming a contrast with the tumultuous and perilous scenes she was destined to pass through; and it grieves the heart to reflect, that a cloud must pass over that joyous countenance, and convert its sunshine into the darkness of despair: but extremes of prosperity and adversity were the lot of all who lived during this period of civil strife. The young Princess of Wales appears in her royal costume, bearing in her right hand the Order of the Garter.

Prince Edward and his consort passed together into England with Queen Margaret, and after landing at Weymouth, learnt the dire intelligence of the fatal issue of the battle of Barnet; of the desertion of Clarence, who had been previously gained over by King Edward, and of the apparent failure of all their hopes.

It would be vain to attempt to depict the despair of the hapless queen, who had been detained by adverse winds from reaching England in time to unite her forces with those of Warwick. She took refuge with her son, the Princess Anne, and their small circle of adherents, first, in the Abbey of Cearn, and then in the Sanctuary of Beaulieu, where they were joined by the Duke of Somerset and many of their Lancastrian friends, who attempted to console the queen and revive her hopes. Although they succeeded in awakening her ardour for the last fatal struggle in the cause of the Red Rose, they found it much more difficult to prevail upon her to allow her son to join in this fearful contest. With the tender feelings of an affectionate mother, she pleaded, that he might be sent back to France, there to await in safety the result of this party struggle. She urged his tender years, and inability to render them any service in the coming fight, on account of his inexperience. But all her arguments were ineffectual; they were overruled by the zeal and earnest representations of their friends, who desired that the prince should lead on their forces.

It is perhaps needless to allude to the fatal termination of the ever-memorable contest between the houses of York and Lancaster.

The English reader is well acquainted with the defeat of the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury in 1471; with the death of Somerset, Wenlock, and other chiefs, the cruel murder of Prince Edward, and the capture of the unhappy Margaret of Anjou. It is only necessary here to detail, as far as we are able, the fate of the hapless Anne of Warwick, who, by the event of the battle which secured the throne to King Edward, became a friendless and deserted widow.

One writer says, the Prince of Wales was with his consort after the battle, when he was discovered, and that both were hurried into the presence of the conqueror, who gave the command for the prince's execution. It is more probable, however, as other chroniclers assert, that Anne was at this moment with her mother-in-law, Queen Margaret, and was with her conveyed to the Tower, whence Richard drew her in order to marry her.

The triumphant King Edward led his captives to London. Amidst the cruelty which this monarch exercised after the battle, and all the details of the trials, executions and other matters, the historian has forgotten to narrate the fate of the Lady Anne of Warwick. Yet must the field of Tewkesbury have been a heart-rending scene to this young princess, who, of gentle birth as well as gentle spirit, had there to endure the murder of her beloved husband, the distraction of his fond mother, the misery of the defeated party of King Henry the Sixth to which she was attached; and lastly,—and, perhaps, not the least to be feared,—the recognition, in the person of one of the victors, of her once hated lover, the Duke of Gloucester. Possibly this last emotion might have, at this time, superseded every other feeling.

The death of the Earl of Warwick left his immense wealth at the disposal of the victors. Clarence claimed it wholly in right of his wife, Isabella, the earl's eldest daughter, and he was resolved to remove the Princess Anne from his brother's knowledge, for he had declared his intention of marrying her, and of dividing the earl's inheritance with the Duke of Clarence. While the latter prince, in order to promote his own selfish ends, did all he could to prevent this union, the Princess Anne seconded his plans from her aversion to Gloucester, for whom she still felt the utmost abhorrence.

She even submitted to hold the place of a menial in a family in London; some assert it was that of a cookmaid, in which office she hoped to elude the search of her detested cousin. But in this project she failed; and the Duke of Gloucester discovered her even in her disguise, and at once conveyed her to the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand; nor did he desist from his purpose until he compelled her to bestow upon him her hand.

Some irregularities existed in regard to the forms of this marriage, probably occasioned by the reluctant assent extorted from Anne, who, it was expected, would sue for a divorce; and it was enacted by parliament, that, in case the Duchess should obtain a divorce, the Duke should still keep possession of her property. Thus, the vast possessions

of the family of Warwick were divided between the two daughters of the widowed countess, who was left so destitute as to be compelled to seek an asylum in a convent ; and the once rich heiress of the noble house of De Spencer and of Warwick, by whose title the great earl, her husband, received his vast estates, was obliged to procure relief in her necessities by the use of her needle.

The marriage of the Princess Anne to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, took place at Westminster in the year 1473. Soon after the celebration of these nuptials, the duke carried his bride into Yorkshire, and fixed their abode at Middleham Castle. Here they both continued to reside during the lifetime of King Edward the Fourth ; and when we consider the political situation of Richard, as the governor of the northern counties, and his frequent contests with the Scotch, which often compelled him to take the field, we are not, perhaps, wrong in supposing that he was not very often an inmate of his own halls ; and little doubt can be entertained, that the less he visited them the more cheerful and less unhappy was his disconsolate wife.

During her stay at Middleham, the birth of her son, in 1474, had, however, opened a new source of interest in the breast of this lady, who *bestowed upon her boy all that love and tenderness which had before been confined to her own heart.* Yet she was not long permitted this solace to her grief. While still living at Middleham Castle, in 1476, she lost her sister, the Duchess of Clarence ; soon after which, as *Duchess of Gloucester, she was called upon to take a part in public acts, which were far from being either justifiable or excusable ; but we have reason to believe, from the few notices that have come down to us, that the actions, no less than the person of the infamous Richard, were her supreme abhorrence.*

King Edward was no more ; and his immediate successor to the throne was only a child. Richard had resolved to place upon his own brow the regal diadem, and the remonstrances of Anne, had she even dared to utter them, would have been in vain, if not dangerous to herself. Richard was, as a friend, not easily led by any one, and still less likely to be turned from his guilty career by the tears and entreaties of a woman.

By a series of crimes, of which history has preserved the record, and which have made Richard the Third a by-word of reproach in the mouth of posterity, he at length mounted his blood-stained throne, and required his queen to share with him his usurped and guilty honours. We have no reason for supposing that any of the crimes

train, and a mantle of the same, richly furred with ermine. In this dress she rode in her litter from the Tower to the palace of Westminster. Still more splendid were her coronation robes, which were all of rich purple velvet, furred with ermine, and adorned with rings and tassels of gold. She wore a golden circlet with precious stones upon her head, and thus attired she walked under a canopy, at each corner of which was a bell of gold. On each side of her walked a bishop, and her train was borne by my lady of Richmond.

After the coronation the queen and her son resided at Windsor Castle. They then went on a progress, in the course of which they made a long stay at Warwick Castle, and here the king joined them. Thence they proceeded to York, where they were recrowned, and the formal investiture of their son Edward, as Prince of Wales, took place. After the coronation, Queen Anne walked through the streets of that city holding the little prince by the hand, while on his head he wore the demi-crown appointed for the heir of England.

While enjoying his festivities at this place, Richard was hastily called away to suppress a rebellion headed by the Duke of Buckingham. Queen Anne accompanied him, sending her son to Middleham Castle, and there Prince Edward expired in March, 1484, in a manner not explained. The king and queen were at Nottingham Castle when their son died, or, as it would appear, lost his life; for the family chronicler terms it "an unhappy death." This blow struck to the heart of the queen, for in her boy all her hopes were centred. She was inconsolable, and yielding herself up to grief, she soon after fell a victim to her maternal love.

Whether Richard ever intended to divorce her, it is impossible to say. The declining health of the queen, however, gave but too sure an indication of her approaching dissolution, and her end was hastened by the most startling rumours. Once she was informed that her death was determined on by the king, but when in her agony she appealed to her husband, to know "what she had done to deserve death?" Richard soothed her with fair words and smiles, and bade her "be of good cheer, for, in sooth, she had no other cause." Again the queen was told that the king was impatient for her death, in order that he might marry his niece, Elizabeth of York. To this tale she gave no credence, but received this young princess with her four sisters, with all honourable courtesy, at court upon the occasion of the Christmas festivals, which were kept with great state in Westminster Hall.

The queen's health continued to decline, and at length, worn out

ELIZABETH OF YORK,

QUEEN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

ELIZABETH OF YORK was the first offspring of Edward the Fourth and Elizabeth Woodville, whom his romantic passion elevated to a throne. She was born at the palace of Westminster, in 1466, and was as warmly welcomed by her parents as if a prince had been granted them. Their satisfaction was not however, shared by their subjects, for in the troubled times in which she first saw the light a male successor to the throne was felt by the people to be necessary to the maintenance of its strength and dignity, both much endangered by the marriage of her parents and the evils it entailed. Two more daughters followed Elizabeth, to the great discontent of the people; nor was it until they had despaired of a male heir, to the crown that one was granted. A year after the birth of Elizabeth her father had embroiled himself with the all powerful Earl of Warwick, by the resumption of the manors of Penley and Widestone, formerly possessed by his brother George, archbishop of York, and by depriving him of the seals, which he bestowed on Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath, whom he made Chancellor of England. The grants conferred on Warwick and his brothers, and particularly these last, though of great importance, were well merited, and the resumption of them being considered as acts of ingratitude, indisposed many towards the king, who could ill afford the loss of any portion of his popularity at that crisis, when the exactions of the queen and the vast favour shown to her family caused such general dissatisfaction.

From the commencement of the acknowledgment of his marriage, Edward had been incited to ill-will against Warwick and his brothers by the Woodvilles, or Widesvilles, as they were then called, the family of the queen, who, jealous of the influence of Warwick with the king sought all means in their power to diminish it. In 1468, Warwick was accused, on the hearsay evidence of a mean person, of favouring



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open old wounds and revive former animosities. The king being in Hertfordshire, was invited by the Archbishop of York to an entertainment at More Park, which he accepted. Before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards Lord Fitzwalter, gave him private notice that one hundred armed men were in ambush to seize and carry him off; when the king secretly left the house, mounted his horse, and, attended only by a few followers, fled to Windsor. The information was utterly false; and that the king should credit and act on it, was an offence not to be overlooked by even a much less susceptible person than Warwick. The smouldering flames of animosity, kept down, but not extinguished, on this fresh provocation, burst out anew; and notwithstanding that the king's mother induced him, Warwick, and Clarence to meet at Baynard's Castle, the peace there established between them resembled more a hollow truce than a sincere reconciliation. Shortly after the commotion in consequence of which Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas de la Saunde were beheaded, Edward, on suspicion of Warwick and Clarence being privy to the affair, published a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of the duke and his father-in-law, of one hundred pounds a year in land for ever, or one thousand pounds in money for the capture of each. They were in the west of England at this time, and, embarking at Dartmouth, sailed for Calais. Arrived in that harbour, no sooner did they attempt to approach the town, than they were fired at and compelled to put out to sea, and the Duchess of Clarence being seized with the pangs of parturition, gave birth to a son. Warwick had counted on a better reception from his lieutenant at Calais, a M. de Vauclere, a Gascon, in whom he placed great confidence; but whether this person was more intent on securing his own safety, or was playing a double part, he so managed as to give every show of resistance to Warwick, who only, with difficulty, could obtain two flagons of wine for the refreshment of the ladies on board, who were extremely sick, and then sailed for Normandy. Here, however, by the entreaties of Louis the Eleventh, he was persuaded to a meeting with Margaret of Anjou, the cause of whose son he was induced, against his better judgment, to espouse, which led to a revolution in England. Unprepared for the landing of Warwick and the forces he brought, the intelligence of which was conveyed to him by Alexander Carlile, serjeant of the minstrels, who found his sovereign in bed, Edward had no time to do more than consult with Lord Hastings, chamberlain of his household, and on whose fidelity he could rely. Following his counsel, he lost not a moment in reaching the sea-side

and, accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester and eight hundred light horse, he embarked at Lynn for Holland, wholly unprovided with money or clothes, so sudden and hurried had been his departure. He narrowly escaped being taken, but was safely landed at Alkmar, leaving Warwick master of England to replace Henry the Sixth again on the throne. The queen, alarmed for her safety and that of her children, took refuge with them in the sanctuary of Westminster, where she had her privilege registered. She was then within a short time of her *accouchement*, and in a month after gave birth to a son, of whom it might truly be said that he was "baptised in tears," so great were the difficulties and sorrows in which his mother found herself placed when he was born. The womanly gentleness of Elizabeth, and the patience with which under such trying circumstances she supported the privations and hardships to which she and her children were reduced, won her the sympathy of all the wives and mothers in the kingdom, and allayed the ill will incurred by her too great devotion to her relations. Melancholy must have been the reflections of the poor queen, when she looked on the innocent face of the first son God had given her, born in a prison, to the privileges accorded to which he alone owed his safety, and was made aware that her royal husband, his father, was a fugitive, declared a traitor to his country, and a usurper of the crown,—that infant son so long desired, whose birth but a few weeks before would have been hailed with public rejoicings and private rapture, now unnoticed, save by his doting mother, and surrounded by all the unmistakable symptoms of the poverty and misfortunes to which he seemed born heir.

Too young to be aware of the dangers and troubles in which her parents were involved, as also that by the birth of her brother her claims to a crown were destroyed, the youthful Elizabeth knew sorrow only by seeing it pictured in the sad face of her mother, and in the gloomy ones of those around her. Happy immunity from care permitted only to childhood! But better days were in store for both mother and daughter.

The Duke of Bourgogne, less desirous to serve the interests of his wife's brother, Edward, than to forward his own against Louis the Eleventh, who had espoused the part of Warwick, now furnished Edward with money, and allowed Louis de Bruges, lord of Grothuse, governor of Holland to supply him with forces. With this powerful aid, and about one thousand or fifteen hundred English soldiers, Edward made a descent on England, the successful termination of which at

Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, may, in a great measure, be attributed to his having persuaded the Yorkists that he came not to depose King Henry, but to recover the duchy of York, his own patrimony. Once in possession of York, he strengthened it, raised new forces, obtained money, and proceeded towards London, which by a train of fortuitous circumstances, the treason of some of Warwick's partisans, and the devotion of Edward's, he was enabled to enter on the 11th of April, and immediately seized the palace of his helpless rival, Henry the Sixth, and committed him to the Tower. He then hastened to the sanctuary, where his infant son was presented to him by its joyful mother. The meeting must have been a touching one ; for although Edward had been so successful, all danger was not yet over ; he knew Warwick too well not to be fully aware that that brave soldier would manfully contest the cause he had adopted ; and although he removed the queen and his children from the sanctuary to Baynard's Castle that day, he could not count what the result of the battle, which he knew must be fought within a short time, might produce, or whether they might not again be driven to have recourse to it. Edward was not permitted to devote many hours to his wife and children, and having placed them in the Tower, where the unfortunate Henry the Sixth was a prisoner, he on Easter-day, the 14th of April, 1471, gained the hard-fought battle of Barnet, in which he displayed no less courage than military skill. Here Warwick, and his brother the Marquis of Montacute, lost their lives. The first, having achieved wonders of bravery, fell dead covered with wounds. The second was said to have been killed by one of Warwick's officers, on seeing him, when the battle was lost, putting on Edward's livery to save himself.

While Edward was quelling his enemies in Gloucestershire, the queen and her children were exposed to some danger in the Tower, by an attempt made by Thomas Neville, a natural son of the late William, Lord Fauconberge, to take it. Edward having gained the battle of Tewkesbury, hastened to the defence of London, and having pursued Thomas Neville to Sandwich, to which place he had retreated, reduced that town, and put an end to the last attempt of the Lancastrian party to dispute the crown with him.

Young as was Elizabeth, she had already, although unconsciously, experienced some of the vicissitudes of fortune, to which the great are more frequently exposed than the less elevated, and her destiny had been placed in other hands than those of her father. The sovereigns of the period to which we refer were in the habit of using their children

of the late king illegal, in consequence of the former contract, and the children illegitimate, and consequently incapable of inheriting. The attainder of the late Duke of Clarence having rendered his offspring likewise incapable of inheriting the Duke of Gloucester was pronounced to be the rightful heir to the throne. The partisans of Gloucester, and enemies of the Woodvilles, alike lent credence to this opinion, so that Richard found himself, through his own crooked policy and the exertions of his friends, addressed by a large body of the spiritual and temporal lords to accept the throne, to which they asserted he was entitled. Not content with declaring the marriage of Edward with Elizabeth Grey illegal they accused her of having accomplished it by her sorcery and the witchcraft of her brother. Nay more, Richard himself in council bared his withered arm and declared his infirmity to have been produced by the same cause, wrought by the same persons, although it was well known that he had been deformed since his birth.

But although Richard left nothing undone to prejudice the people against the claims of his nephews whom he kept close prisoners in the Tower, he did not openly presume to usurp the throne of the elder until he had artfully arranged that he should be petitioned to accept it. This measure was accomplished through the Duke of Buckingham's going to Guildhall, accompanied by several lords, while the mayor, aldermen, and common council were there assembled, and making them a speech, in which the grievances of the reign of Edward the Fourth were painted in the darkest colours, the rights of his offspring set aside on the plea of illegitimacy, and the just claim of Richard to the throne asserted, he, by his passionate address, won some of the crowd, who forced an entrance to the hall to cry out for King Richard. The persons thus crying out were of mean condition, being only the servants and tools of Buckingham and his friends. Nevertheless he chose to accept their voices as those of the whole body present, and ordered the mayor, aldermen, and commons to attend the next day at Baynard's Castle, where the Protector was residing, to join with the lords in an address to Richard to accept the crown. The wily and ambitious plotter affected to decline the prayer, but Buckingham, with whom probably the whole affair had been concocted, declared in the name of all present that if he refused, they should offer the succession to some other person they having determined that no child of Edward the Fourth should reign. This declaration vanquished the affected scruples of Richard, and on the day after, the 26th of June, he went to Westminster Hall, seated himself in the chair of state his deceased brother

had been wont to fill, and which had been prepared for his nephew, and the following day was proclaimed king. All the preparations made for the coronation of the unfortunate Edward the Fifth were now used for that of his wicked uncle and his victim wife Anne ; and the vast treasure amassed by the late king was employed to reward new friends and conciliate old foes. The coronation over, Richard the Third, accompanied by his queen and their son Edward, created Prince of Wales, set out for the north in the early part of September. At Coventry the royal trio appeared in regal state, wearing crowns, and Richard exercised a princely generosity to gain the good-will of the people. But here news of the most unexpected nature was forwarded to him, namely, of the insurrection of the Duke of Buckingham, which called forth all the energy and courage which he displayed to preserve a throne which he had so unlawfully usurped. Perhaps, had this outbreak not occurred, Richard might not have caused the murder of his innocent and helpless nephews in the Tower ; but this event proved to him the instability of his tenure of the crown, and urged him to remove by death those who had a better right to it.

The sanctuary, from the moment that Richard became aware of the arrangement entered into between the unhappy Elizabeth Woodville, or Lady Grey, as he commanded her to be named, and Margaret, the mother of Henry Tudor, for the marriage of their children, Elizabeth and Henry, was no longer a safe abode for the queen and her daughters. Closely guarded, by Richard's orders, they were exposed to daily hardships, and might at any hour be sentenced to positive privation by the will of their remorseless foe. The wretchedness in which the unfortunate queen and her daughters were involved may more easily be imagined than described. The violent deaths of her brother and son, followed by the murder of the two princes in the Tower, inflicted such overwhelming grief on the queen, that her health and peace were crushed by the blow. Her eldest daughter Elizabeth was then of an age to keenly sympathise in her mother's sorrow, and so fondly attached to her brothers, as to experience the most heartfelt grief for their loss, and the utmost horror at the manner of it. In order to mitigate the censure he had incurred through the murder of the princes, and also probably with a view to a future union with his niece, Elizabeth, Queen Anne being then in a hopeless state of health, and Richard having lost his only son, he insisted on the queen and her daughters leaving the sanctuary, and resigning themselves to his protection. The terror he had inspired in the breast of his hapless

sister-in-law may be judged by her making a condition that he should take a solemn oath to preserve the lives of her daughters before she would consent to leave the sanctuary. Again was this poor and helpless woman separated from her children ; for while they were brought to court, and placed under the protection of their dying aunt, Anne, the wife of Richard, their mother was consigned to the care of one of the creatures of Richard, who ministered to her wants as if she were a lunatic, instead of a broken-hearted woman ; the abode assigned her being in some mean apartments in the palace of Westminster formerly used only by menials. That she was under personal constraint may be concluded from the instructions given to the person who had charge of her.

Queen Anne, who had drunk deeply of the cup of affliction, must have felt commiseration for the youthful nieces of her ruthless husband. She treated them with uniform kindness, and distinguished Elizabeth, by showing a great preference for her society.

But while Richard believed that he had crushed insurrection and quelled his foes, intelligence reached him that Henry Tudor had effected a landing at Milford Haven with 3000 men from Normandy. Counting on the aid of Thomas, Lord Stanley, who had married his mother, and whose brothers, as well as himself, possessed considerable power, he had disembarked at Milford Haven, knowing that Sir William Stanley, who was chamberlain of North Wales, was apprised of his coming. The battle of Bosworth and death of Richard was the result of Henry's invasion ; and the marriage between him and Elizabeth, as arranged a considerable time before, was solemnised at Westminster on the 18th of January, 1486, when this union of the Roses of York and Lancaster put an end for ever to the wars of the rival houses. But though now wedded to him to whom she had been for some time betrothed, the lovely and amiable Elizabeth had no great reason to be gratified ; for the indifference evinced by Henry the Seventh for the marriage proved that he had either depreciated her attractions or yielded his heart to those of another, neither of which conclusions could be otherwise than humiliating to one so fair. He had entered London as a victorious sovereign on the 28th of August, 1485, yet did not claim the fulfilment of Elizabeth's pledge to wed him until nearly six months after ; nor without being twice reminded of his engagement, first by his privy council, and secondly by a petition from both houses of parliament. This dilatoriness on his part was certainly very unflattering to his future bride ; and his ungracious determination to

claim the crown as his own right, without any reference to hers, was no less so. The delay required for procuring the pope's dispensation for the marriage could not be alleged as an excuse, for it arrived subsequently, instead of prior to the marriage; and even as regarded the dispensations, for there were no less than three, Henry the Seventh betrayed a certain want of courtesy to his queen; for the two first, which acknowledged her as the undoubted heir to Edward the Fourth, did not satisfy him, and in the third he stipulated to have a clause entered, that in case of Elizabeth's death without offspring, the succession was to be continued in any children he might have by another wife,—an act of injustice as well as one of ungraciousness. How the fair and gentle queen bore this conduct we have no authority to judge; but her delicate health may be taken as an indication that she felt, although she might not have resented, that and the harshness with which he is said to have treated her. Elizabeth had not been long a wife before she gave hopes of becoming a mother, and, as was the usage at that period, in due time withdrew from her courtly circle to the chamber designed for her *accouchement*. From the chamber of ladies so situated it was the custom to exclude air, as well as light, and women only were admitted. The walls were covered with rich arras, which extended over the sides, including the windows and ceiling; that part of it which enveloped the doors and windows being made to be drawn back if required. Rich plate, and other costly decorations, and furniture, were placed in this chamber of retreat, in order that the queen might lack none of the splendour suitable to her rank. At the door she took leave of all the officers of her court, and from that hour until she left the room was waited on only by ladies, who had all things needful for her service brought to the door. The queen's *accouchement* took place at Winchester on the 20th of September, and occurred a month sooner than was expected; notwithstanding which, the infant, afterwards named Arthur, was a promising child, with no appearance of the delicacy peculiar to children born before the regular time. But though the birth of an heir to his crown might be thought to be the completion of the felicity of Henry the Seventh, it was not so; for there were those amongst his subjects who were little disposed to be obedient, or to let him enjoy a peaceful reign. These were the partisans of Richard the Third, who had neither forgotten nor forgiven their defeat at Bosworth. The first outbreak was that headed by Lord Lovell, Sir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, who, while the king was proceeding to York, left the sanctuary at Colchester,

at which they had taken refuge and remained ever since the death of Richard, refusing to trust to Henry's clemency, and who now, collecting their forces, determined to dethrone him. The news reached him at York, and, unprepared as he was, he evinced considerable resolution and vigour to meet the dangers that menaced him. He aimed three thousand men, employing tanned leather as a substitute for armour, and giving the command of them to Jasper, Duke of Bedford, despatched them with instructions to their leader to fight or pardon, as might seem best. The offer of pardon had a good effect. Lord Lovell fled, the rebels laid down their arms, and Stafford took refuge at Colnham, near Abingdon, until then supposed to be invested with the privileges of a sanctuary. Its claims to this distinction being examined in the King's Bench, were pronounced to be unavailing in cases of open rebellion and the Staffords were forcibly taken from it and transmitted to the Tower, whence, shortly after, Sir Humphry was removed to Tyburn, where he was executed. His brother Thomas, being deemed less culpable, received the royal pardon.

The next interruption to public peace in England was the imposition practised of passing Lambert Simnel for Edward, Earl of Warwick, then a prisoner in the Tower. To defeat the plot, the real Warwick was brought forth through the city and shown to the people. Nevertheless, the counterfeited one continued to retain many supporters, especially in Ireland, where he was not only acknowledged king, but absolutely crowned.

Henry defeated this conspiracy as well as the former one, and among the prisoners taken was Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick. Questioned why he had lent himself to the conspiracy, the young man confessed his low birth, and owned that he had yielded to the wishes of others, on which Henry pardoned him, and with an affected generosity assigned him the office of turnspit in the royal kitchen—in office than “which,” as Speed quaintly writes, quoting from Polydore Virgil, “if his wit and spirit had answered to his titles he would have chosen much rather to have been turned from the ladder by an hangman.” Henry's policy in thus denuding and degrading the pretender to his throne, betrayed that knowledge of mankind which was conspicuous in his character, for nothing tends more to crush an enemy in the eyes of his partisans than to make light of him, and expose him to ridicule, while the exercise of severity towards him gives him importance and excites sympathy in his favour.

So jealous was Henry of establishing his own separate right to the throne, independent of that of his amiable and gentle spouse, that he did not have her crowned until 1487, which proves that he conferred the crown on her as his wife. Indeed, there is reason to suppose that he might have still longer postponed her coronation, had not the partisans of the house of York betrayed sundry symptoms of discontent that it had not already taken place. This grand ceremony, like most similar ones of that age, was graced by a magnificent procession on the Thames, to conduct the queen from Greenwich to the Tower, where she was received by the king with a show of tenderness very gratifying to those who witnessed it, a general belief prevailing that he was harsh and unkind in his conduct towards her. No device or pageantry that could add splendour to the scene had been omitted in this procession by water. The barges of the different civic companies escorted the royal one, and many were the picturesque decorations, in which the arms and emblems of the House of Tudor with the Roses of York and Lancaster, no longer rivals, but united in garlands, were tastefully introduced. Joyous music was not wanting, and often was it interrupted by the loyal acclamations of the crowds who lined the shore to view the pageant. The following day the queen proceeded in state from the Tower to the palace at Westminster, nor was the procession formed to attend her less splendid than that of the previous day. Hitherto Elizabeth had been seldom seen by her subjects. Her life, before her marriage, had been secluded, either in the privacy of the palace or the gloom of the sanctuary; and subsequently, the greater portion had been spent in the country, at Winchester and elsewhere. Her loveliness had therefore all the additional attraction of novelty for the eyes that gazed on her, as if they never could turn from her beautiful face and graceful yet dignified figure, which lent to, instead of acquiring, charms from the regal habiliments. These consisted of a robe composed of white cloth of gold, trimmed with ermine, and confined to her shape, over which fell a mantle of the same materials. Her fair hair in rich profusion floated down her back, confined to her head by a network of gold, and a circlet of precious stones, the dazzling lustre of which seemed to give a glory to the seraphic character of her face. Faultless in features and figure, with a complexion of exquisite fairness, and eyes of cerulean blue, the trials she had already passed through, though only then in her twenty-second year, had given her countenance an expression of such heavenly resignation and serenity, that none could behold her without a mingled

sentiment of reverence and adoration, such as men believe that beatified saints only can inspire.

Henry took no part in the ceremonies of his queen's coronation, but at the festivals which followed it he appeared and shared the pleasures. The absence of the queen-dowager from the coronation of her daughter might justify the rumours that she was haushly treated by the king her son-in-law. It was said that he never forgave her for consenting to a reconciliation with her most cruel enemy Richard the Third, and for her consenting to his proposal of wedding her daughter Elizabeth, affianced as she had been to himself,—a proposal, however, as we have shown, eagerly accepted by Elizabeth; and of sending for her son, the Marquis of Dorset, to abandon his cause.

The decree passed at the council held at the monastery of Carthusian monks near Richmond, soon after the discovery of the conspiracy of Lambert Simnel, proves the ill-will of Henry against his wife's mother; for the second article of it contains the following sentence:—"That Elizabeth, late wife to Edward the Fourth, and mother-in-law to Henry, now king of England, should forfeit all her lands and goods, for that (contrary to her faith given to them who were in the plot for bringing in King Henry) she had yielded up her daughter to the hands of the tyrant Richard." Henry seems to have forgotten that the unfortunate Elizabeth Woodville was wholly in the power of Richard when she made those enforced concessions to his will, or he must have been enraged by the report then circulated, that she had lent her countenance, in common with her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Burgundy, to the impostor Lambert Simnel. If we may credit Speed, this unfortunate queen, after being despoiled of her dowry, was condemned to confinement in the monastery of Bermondsey, in Southwark, where finally she ended her days.

On the 1st of November, 1489, the queen took to her chamber, with all the etiquette formerly practised at Winchester, but on this occasion in the palace of Westminster, to prepare for the advent of her second child, and on the 29th she gave birth to a princess, named Margaret.

The good intelligence which always reigned between the queen and the mother of her husband may be received as evidence of the fine qualities and sweet temper of Elizabeth, for rarely does it occur that mothers-in-law feel any warm affection for the wives of their sons; and although Margaret Beaufort was justly accounted one of the most worthy women of her time, she might not be so superior to the generality of her sex in this instance, had not the goodness of Elizabeth

won her esteem and regard. Whatever may have been the truth relative to the harshness which Henry the Seventh has been accused of having practised towards his gentle wife, there is no proof extant of her having ever resented or exposed it, while the whole tenour of her wedded life testifies that she was a most affectionate and devoted wife, as well as a most tender mother. Her attachment to her own relations, too, was fond and steady, exemplified by a thoughtful care for their comfort and independence, always exercised at the cost of no little self-sacrifice on her part, invariably borne without a murmur or attempt to subtract from what she deemed necessary for their wants. It was by this kind liberality to her sisters that Elizabeth sometimes found herself in debt, and compelled to have recourse to a system of personal economy that many a private gentlewoman would have thought it a hardship to endure. It is touching to read the proofs of this self-imposed frugality in a queen, and, moreover, in one so fair, who might be supposed to take pleasure in the adorning of a beauty for which Nature had done so much ; and knowing the motives for her economy, every notice of her mended clothes invests her with a charm in our eyes that the richest garments could not bestow. The affection of Elizabeth of York for her relations, and the manner in which it was proved, differed materially from that of her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, towards hers. She used no undue influence for their promotion, sought not to enrich them at the cost of others, or to match them with age or deformity, or to elevate them unduly. She relied solely on the sacrifice of her own luxuries, nay more, of her absolute necessities, to furnish what she bestowed on her sisters, and by this prudent course made no enemies for herself or them.

On the 28th of June, 1491, Elizabeth gave birth to Henry, her second son, in the palace at Greenwich ; and in the following year her third daughter was born, and named Elizabeth, after her mother and herself. In this year the queen-dowager died, to the great regret of her daughter, who, though she seldom saw her, owing to her seclusion in a monastery, continued to entertain for her a lively affection.

The next event that troubled the reign of Henry the Seventh was the invasion of Perkin Warbeck, which involved him and the kingdom in great difficulties.

On the 8th of May, 1500, Henry, with his queen, sailed for Calais, to avoid a pestilence then raging with great fury in England. While there, he had an interview with Philip, archduke of Austria and sovereign of Burgundy and Flanders, in which both sovereigns were so

well satisfied with each other, that a marriage was proposed by them between the eldest son of Philip subsequently so celebrated as Charles the Fifth and the Princess Mary, then a child. So gratified was Henry by the flattery of Philip who called him Father and protector, that he sent a full detail of the interviews to the mayor and aldermen of London. The pestilence being over the king and queen returned to England in June. In this year the treaty of marriage between Prince Arthur and Katharine of Arragon was concluded and the following one the marriage took place. In January, 1502 the betrothment of the Princess Margaret with King James the Fourth of Scotland occurred and these were the last festivities in which Elizabeth took a part for a considerable time for the unexpected and untimely death of Prince Arthur which followed five months after his nuptials plunged his fond mother in such grief as greatly to affect her health, never strong and to exercise a great influence on her spirits. But even while overwhelmed by her own grief Elizabeth was not unmindful of her widowed daughter in law to whom she showed the utmost kindness and sympathy under her bereavement. Already had the queen given birth to six children. Arthur her first born the 20th of September 1486, Margaret the eldest daughter, born on the 29th of November 1489, Mary, 1490. Henry born in 1491, Elizabeth the 2d of July 1492, and Edmund 1495. Of these one had died in childhood namely Edmund and Prince Arthur who expired in his sixteenth year. And now the queen's *accouchement* of her seventh child drew near. This event took place in the Tower of London, in February, 1503 when she gave birth to a daughter named Katharine, who survived but a few days and on the 11th of the same month the lovely and gentle Elizabeth yielded up her life in the thirty seventh year of her age to the general regret of all her subjects. That Henry felt not her loss as her virtues deserved is best proved by the desire he evinced to supply her place soon after, and if his matrimonial speculations were not carried into effect the fault lay not in his want of desire to wed. The Queen dowager of Naples to whom his views were first directed he gave up on ascertaining that her dower, which he believed to be very large was seized by the successor of her husband, and for Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy, he was in treaty, when ill health warned him to prepare for another world. He outlived his lovely and amiable queen little more than six years she having died in February, 1503, and he on the 21st of April 1509.



KATHARINE OF ARRAGON,

QUEEN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THE subject of this notice was the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and first saw the light at Alcala di Finari on the 15th of December, 1485. She had only reached her fourth year when the conquest of Granada made the beautiful and romantic Alhambra her home, and the happy days of her childhood were passed in its exquisite halls. The education of the infanta was carefully attended to. The most learned men were called in to instruct her, and the queen her mother, acknowledged to be one of the most highly educated women of her time, superintended her studies. At an early age Katharine had made a considerable proficiency in Latin, a language she never in after-age neglected.

Few princesses were ever born under more brilliant auspices. The offspring of two sovereigns in their separate rights, the purest blood of Castile and Aragon mingled in her veins. Katharine was only seven years old when Columbus, through the aid of her mother, sailed in quest of a western continent, and justified by his successful discoveries the encouragement afforded him by his liberal and enterprising protectress.

But as the brightest mornings are often followed by the darkest days, so was the early and brilliant youth of the infanta succeeded by the gloom which shrouded her life soon after she exchanged the sunshine of her natal clime of Granada for the cloudy and chilly one of England. In 1501, before she had completed her sixteenth year, the hand of Katharine was solicited by Henry, the Seventh for his eldest son Arthur, a prince of great promise, but ten months younger than herself, having but just completed his fifteenth year.

The treaty of marriage was concluded, and the infanta, attended by a noble train, left Granada for Corunna, whence she was to embark for England, never more to behold her native land. Katharine

arrived not until October, when she landed at Plymouth, where she was received with every demonstration of joy by all classes in that neighbourhood. The king despatched some of the highest of his nobility to attend on her, and set out in a few days after to meet her on the road, as did Prince Arthur. The first interview took place at Dogmersfield, and on the following day the royal procession set out for Chertsey, where they rested at the palace for one night, receiving as they progressed every possible mark of respect which the subjects of Henry could lavish on them. The third night the party stopped at Kingston, and reached Lambeth on the following day, travelling so slowly as to have taken as many days to accomplish a journey of two hundred and sixteen miles as might now suffice to traverse the whole kingdom.

The personal appearance of Katharine seems to have pleased her future husband, as well as his parents. What she, accustomed to the sunny clime of Granada, must have thought of the murky one of an English November, we have no clue to discover; but all who have lived in a southern land, and entered ours in that dreary month, may imagine her feelings.

On the 14th of November the nuptials were celebrated. The Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by nineteen bishops and "abbots mytered," joined their hands, and performed all the religious rites on that occasion. Great was the splendour exhibited at the marriage, a detail of which may be found in Stowe by those who take pleasure in such descriptions; nor were the fêtes and nuptial feast which followed it, given in the bishop's palace of St. Paul's, less gorgeous. A tilting match with quaint devices, in which the grotesque and magnificent were mingled, took place the succeeding week; and after this display of chivalry, an entertainment on a scale of right regal grandeur was given in Westminster Hall, at which the bride and bridegroom danced, as did others of the royal family.

Prince Arthur and Katharine departed for Ludlow Castle, in Shropshire, where they were to hold a court, as Prince and Princess of Wales, attended by the lords and ladies comprising their suite, where they so conducted themselves as to win the affections of all around them.

Short-lived, however, was the happiness of the youthful pair; for in the April that followed his marriage, Prince Arthur expired, leaving Katharine a lonely stranger in that distant castle, where he closed his life in the sixteenth year of his age.

The young widow proceeded to the palace at Croydon, there to spend the period of her mourning. Happy had it been for her had she returned to her native land, as her parents desired ; but the wish to retain the portion of her fortune already received, and to secure the remaining one, as also to save the dower which as widow of the Prince of Wales she was entitled to claim from England, induced Henry the Seventh to propose a marriage between her and his second son, now heir to his crown. That the two persons most interested in this proposed union felt no desire for it, may readily be conceded when the youth of Henry is considered, he being too young to experience the tender passion, or to excite it ; and although Katharine yielded obedience to the desire of her parents in contracting it, she nevertheless wrote to them that she had no inclination for a second marriage in England. When, however, all was arranged for the pair being affianced, Henry the Seventh, with whom the measure originated, was guilty of an artifice which reflects eternal dishonour on his name, and which, in after-years, involved in misery the life of his daughter-in-law. A dispensation had been obtained from Pope Julius the Second for the marriage six years previous to its fulfilment, and this dispensation had been followed by a solemn contract between Henry and Katharine, in June, 1503. What, then, can be thought of the dishonourable conduct of Henry the Seventh, who, two years after this solemn betrothment, on the day before the prince completed the fourteenth year of his age, caused him to sign an act protesting against it, and renouncing the contract he had made him formerly sign ! Various have been the motives assigned for this base proceeding : many persons asserted that it was caused by a desire of alarming Ferdinand, and extorting from him more advantageous conditions for this second marriage, whenever it might be deemed expedient to carry it out ; but the real cause seems to have been Henry the Seventh's own desire to marry Joanna, Katharine's elder sister, himself. Such a connexion as father and son married to two sisters, was too much even for these times. But Henry's scheme for himself failed, through the proved insanity of Joanna ; and he then dropped the idea of breaking his son's engagement. But out of this proceeding sprang all Katharine's future troubles ; for so soon as it was a matter of convenience to Henry the Eighth to get rid of Katharine, he immediately returned to this his boyish protest as a matter of conscience. If motives of pecuniary interest had, too, entered into the protest, they were gratified ; for Ferdinand authorised his ambassador not only to confirm the former

treaty made with Henry the Seventh, for the marriage of his son Henry with Katharine, Princess of Wales, but to concede an additional condition, namely, that no part of her fortune, whether already paid or to be paid, should be restored in any case, and to ratify the agreement, formerly entered into between the Emperor Maximilian and his daughter Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, for the marriage of Charles, Prince of Spain, and Mary of England, sister to Henry.

Ferdinand of Arragon had evinced some dissatisfaction that the marriage had been so long postponed, and now, with his daughter Jane, as well as Katharine herself, renounced all future claim to the portion of Katharine, amounting to no less a sum than 200,000 crowns, which was granted absolutely to the King of England. That Katharine was now desirous for the marriage may be argued from the fact of her asserting, that her union with Prince Arthur had not been of a nature to oppose her wedding his brother,—a statement she need not have made, had she wished to avoid the marriage with Henry.

The ill-starred nuptials were solemnised on the 3rd of June, 1509, at the Bishop of Salisbury's house, in Fleet Street, with great magnificence, and the coronation of the royal pair took place on the 24th of the same month. Nothing was spared to render this ceremony worthy of the occasion, and no inconsiderable portion of the vast sum of gold hoarded by Henry the Seventh was expended to do honour to it. Nor were the subjects of the youthful and pleasure-loving monarch slow to adopt his taste for display and splendour, as those disposed to consult Hall, Holinshed, and other historians, will find; for they were heedless of expense in their dresses for the occasion. Katharine was then in her twenty-second year, (being five years senior to Henry, who was in his eighteenth,) and was esteemed an attractive, if not a beautiful woman. The dignified formality peculiar to her countrywomen of that period somewhat deteriorated from her charms, by giving her an aspect of gravity, which made her appear older than she really was; nevertheless she was handsome enough to justify the affection with which Henry was said to regard her during the first years of their union. Independent of the strict observance of etiquette in which the Infantas of Spain were brought up, and which must more or less influence their demeanour and manners during life, it is probable that, seeing the too great freedom of behaviour in which Henry was prone to indulge, Katharine might have deemed it necessary to oppose a check to it, by the maintenance of a grave and queen-like dignity in her own person. The death of the king's grandmother followed in five

days after his coronation ; and a plague, which broke out at Calais, and which soon reached London, also marked that year. Neither events made any very serious impression on Henry, who, bent on the pursuit of pleasure, sought it wherever it tempted him. Perhaps the gravity of his queen might have sometimes served as a tacit reproach to him in the midst of his masquings and boy-like pastimes. If so, it is to his credit, that although naturally impatient of aught that even resembled constraint, he for many years of their union never violated towards Katharine the rules imposed by good-breeding and knightly courtesy to a lady ; nay more, he showed a decided preference to her society. Katharine, likewise, observed an invariable gentleness and affection towards Henry, never letting it be seen that she disapproved his too great indulgence in those undignified pleasures to which he was so addicted,—a rare proof of wisdom and tact on her part.

On the 1st of January, 1511, the queen gave birth to a son, whose death at the close of the February following destroyed the joy which his advent had occasioned. The grief of Katharine was long and deep ; and Henry, although greatly disappointed at the loss of his son, neglected no means of consoling the bereaved mother. To cheer the queen, he got up a variety of sports and pageants. In the midst of these, the people broke in upon the revellers, and stripped the king and courtiers, the ladies included, of their jewels, and even of their rich dresses. The king was stripped to his doublet and drawers ; but he treated it only as a jest, and he and his nobles sat down to supper in great merriment in their despoiled condition. The death of the young prince was soon after followed by the breaking out of a war with France, when Henry had the mortification of discovering that his brother-in-law, the King of Scotland, secretly sided with that country against him. This war had been instigated by Pope Julius the Second, with whom Henry and Ferdinand had formed a league to take arms and attack France, Henry lured by the hope of recovering his own rights in that kingdom, much more than by the desire of maintaining the authority of the pope. Another motive for engaging in this war held out to him, and which with so vain-glorious a man was well calculated to have considerable weight, was that he had learned that the pope intended to take away the title of “Christianissimus” from the French king, and confer it upon him.

Henry did not accompany the troops he sent to join his wily father-in-law to attack France ; but the following year, not quite satisfied with the proceedings going on, he determined to go in person, but

previously took measures to guard England against any outbreak on the part of Scotland which from the deceitful nature of its king he fully anticipated Henry having appointed Katharine regent and invested her with almost sovereign power embarked at Dover on the last day of June 1513 with about four hundred sail. The queen accompanied him to that port where they parted with much sorrow on her side while Henry filled with warlike ardour, thought more of the victories he expected to gain than of the regrets of his fond wife. Thomas Wolsey lately taken into high favour accompanied the king as almoner and also discharged the duty of secretary as may be seen by the letters addressed to him by Katharine during his absence in answer to his. In these letters anxiety for her husband's safety often breaks through the queenly desire that he should distinguish himself.

On the 12th of August the Emperor Maximilian joined Henry as a proud ally receiving one hundred crowns a day and wearing the cross of St George. Katharine refers to this circumstance in one of her letters to Wolsey wherein she writes — I think with the company of the emperor and with his good counsel his grace shall not adventure himself too much as I was afraid of before. I was very glad to hear of the meeting of them both which hath been to my seeming the greatest honour to the king that ever came to a prince. The battle, fictitiously named by the defeated *La Journée des Epous* was won on the 16th of August and on the 24th Henry and Maximilian entered the town of Therouene and were present at a solemn Te Deum offered up for the easy victory. But while Henry was carrying on the war abroad Katharine was no less anxiously occupied at home in repelling the aggressions of the Scots who, emboldened by the absence of the king had invaded England. The victories of Nevill's Cross and Flodden Field were achieved during her regency and the letter from her to Henry announcing the last contains many touches of affection that prove the feelings of the victorious queen were almost forgotten in those of the loving wife.

Henry returned to England at the close of October and his meeting with Katharine was marked by great affection on both sides.

In August 1514 the contract between the Princess Mary, sister of Henry and Louis the Twelfth of France, being signed on September 14th the ceremony of contraction took place at the church of the Celestines in Paris, on hearing which Henry, accompanied by his queen and a numerous train of nobility, conducted the Princess Mary

to Dover, and having consigned her to the care of the Duke of Norfolk, saw her depart for Boulogne, where she was met by the French nobles deputed by Louis the Twelfth to attend her to Abbeville. .

Gratified by this marriage, and free from troubles at home and abroad, Henry indulged his taste for pleasure by a series of courtly fêtes, which were however interrupted by the *accouchement* of the queen, who again gave birth to a son in November 1514, who unfortunately lived but a few days. The festival of the new year was marked by a splendid pageant, in which Henry himself bore a conspicuous part. It consisted of a masque, in which the king and three nobles of his court, with four ladies magnificently attired, danced in the queen's presence, and removed not their masques until the dance was finished, when Katharine, recognising the king, rewarded him for the agreeable surprise he had occasioned her by a kiss.

The death of Louis the Twelfth, a few months after his ill-assorted marriage, left his queen at liberty to contract a union more suitable to her age and taste. Her choice fell on the object of her former love, the Duke of Suffolk, who had been sent to France by Henry as the bearer of a letter of condolence to the widowed queen, and whom she privately married with an indecent precipitancy that somewhat shocked the French court. Mary and Suffolk returned to England in the latter end of April, and were publicly married on the 13th of May at Greenwich, Henry and Katharine treating them with great kindness and affection, and celebrating their nuptials by a romantic fête, in which Robin Hood and his merry men were personated by the archers of the royal guard, who invited the king and the two queens, and their court, to a repast spread in a thicket near Shooter's Hill.

The troubles of Scotland brought Queen Margaret of that kingdom a visitor to the court of her brother in 1517, where she was affectionately received by the king and queen, and once more found herself beneath the same roof with her sister Mary, the queen-dowager of France. The meeting between Margaret and Katharine must have reminded both of the death of the King of Scotland, the husband of one, and the brother-in-law of the other, had not Margaret found consolation in her marriage with the Earl of Angus, contracted too soon after the death of her royal spouse to admit a belief being entertained of her having felt any real grief for that tragical event. Margaret brought with her her infant daughter by the Earl of Angus, the Lady Margaret Douglas, who shared the nursery with her cousin, the Princess Mary, only a few months her junior. Both remained a year at the English court, at

the expiration of which time a treaty with the Duke of Albany, who had replaced her as Regent of Scotland, enabled her to return thither Margaret appears to have had as little control over her passions as her brother, Henry the Eighth, afterwards evinced over his, for, having discovered that her husband, the Earl of Angus, had been unfaithful to her during her absence, she met him with undissembled anger and disdain, and announced her intention of suing for a divorce from him. Previously to the queen of Scotland leaving the court of Henry, a riot of a grave character occurred in London, which furnished Katharine with an opportunity of displaying that clemency and good-feeling towards the subjects of her husband in which she was never found deficient. Some citizens and apprentices, aggrieved by the patronage bestowed on foreign artisans, to the detriment of their own profit, and incited to commotion by the seditious sermons of a Doctor Bele and the persuasions of John Lincoln, a broker, seized on the pretext of some offence offered to them by the foreign artisans, to pillage houses, break open prisons, and injure and maim several strangers. Many lives were lost in the fray, and it was deemed expedient to punish with severity those who were arrested in it. No less than two hundred and seventy-eight persons were made prisoners, many of them mere youths, whose mothers and sisters sought the palace, and with loud cries and floods of tears implored the pity of Katharine, who, touched with compassion, presented herself, accompanied by the Dowager Queen of France and her sister Margaret of Scotland, before Henry, and besought pardon for the youthful insurgents. This appeal had more effect on the king than that made by the recorder and aldermen, who came in mourning to the court to plead in favour of the guilty. Nevertheless, he only accorded them pardon when, sitting at Westminster Hall, and surrounded by his principal nobility and officers, the culprits came before him in white shirts, and with halters about their necks, and did on their knees crave mercy. Still, no less than fourteen—and these were the ringleaders, among whom was Lincoln,—were executed, a proof that Henry already began to reveal the sanguinary nature he afterwards displayed. The terrible malady known by the name of *Sudor Anglicus* appeared in 1517, and was of so malignant a character as to cause death in three hours. Many persons of note died of this disease, while it fell so heavily on the lower class as to depopulate not only villages, but in some places towns. Henry left London, and, adjourning three terms, removed Trinity term, in 1518, to Oxford, whence it was adjourned to Westminster.

In this year, urged on by political motives, Francis the First, of France, proposed a treaty with Henry, one of the conditions of which was to be the marriage of his son, the dauphin, and the Princess Mary, only then in her second year, and the dauphin in his first. This treaty, proposed in September, 1518, was concluded in October following; and on the 16th of December, the King and Queen of France, acting on behalf of their son, and the Earl of Worcester on the part of the Princess Mary, the children were solemnly affianced.

The influence of Wolsey with Henry the Eighth had so greatly increased, that the sovereigns who wished to stand well with England found it their interest to conciliate this proud and selfish upstart by administering to his vanity. He was alternately bribed by Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, whenever they deemed it expedient, either by using their mediation with Leo the Tenth to forward Wolsey's ambitious views, or by costly gifts. They condescended to flatter him as well as to serve his projects. In their letters they extravagantly lauded him for qualities which he did not possess, while they greatly exaggerated those to which he laid claim, and even addressed him as their "friend," their "father." Vain of these proofs of the high consideration in which he was held by two such powerful monarchs, Wolsey, now archbishop of York, omitted not to make Henry aware of it; and Henry, no less vain-glorious, received these proofs of the favour shown to Wolsey as homage offered to his own dignity and power, as well as of the vast superiority of his favourite. Wolsey had now reached almost the last step of the ladder of fortune. First minister, prime favourite, grand chancellor, archbishop of York, cardinal, sole legate, (Campeggio, his colleague in that dignity, having been recalled to Rome,) wealth, and power which enabled him to amass it abroad as well as at home, he might surely have been satisfied with the splendour of his lot.

In 1519, an *éclatant* proof of the desire of Francis the First to testify his esteem for Henry was given by that monarch requesting him to stand godfather to his second son, Henry, afterwards king of France,—a request not only proving his esteem, but likewise illustrative of the high position held by Henry the Eighth at that period in Europe, the friendship of sovereigns being then, as now, dependent on their prosperity and the influence they exercised in political affairs. To Wolsey did Francis confide the whole arrangement of the ceremonial of the interview to be held between him and Henry at Ardres,—a flattering proof of his confidence in Wolsey, as great importance was attached to

all the details of the etiquette and precedence to be maintained in such meetings. In consequence of this privilege, Wolsey, on the 12th of May, 1520, drew up the regulation or programme of the interview, which it was decided should take place on the 4th of June following, between Ardres and Guisnes, that the King of England should advance towards Ardres, as far as was convenient to him, but without quitting that portion of his own territory still held in France, and that the King of France should advance to meet him where he stopped. By this arrangement Wolsey managed that the first visit should be paid by Francis to Henry, assigning for a reason, that, as Henry crossed the sea expressly to see Francis, the latter could do no less than pass his own territory to meet Henry. The royal party consisted of the kings and queens of England and France, Mary, queen dowager of France, and Louise of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, mother to Francis. Each sovereign was to be attended by a princely train, and no expense was to be spared on either side to render the pageant splendid, both monarchs having a decided taste for magnificence. While these arrangements were forming, Wolsey was secretly carrying on a correspondence with Charles the Fifth, who, having discovered his ambition and rapacity, administered to both, as being the best mode of securing his influence with his master, and when Henry, on the 25th of May, reached Canterbury, on his route to embark for Calais, great was his surprise when he received intelligence of the arrival of Charles the Fifth at Dover, although it was strongly suspected that this visit was concerted between the emperor and Wolsey, and consequently did not surprise the latter, however he might affect ignorance of it. The cardinal immediately offered to proceed to Dover to receive Charles, and to announce the visit of Henry for the next day, by which means an opportunity was afforded Wolsey of a private conference with Charles. From Dover Henry conducted the emperor back to Canterbury, to see the queen, who was delighted to meet her nephew for the first time. Charles, who had been kept *au fait* of the intended interview between Francis the First and Henry by the cardinal, came expressly to use his influence to prevent it, but this being impossible, Henry having engaged his honour for the meeting, it was generally thought that the emperor took that opportunity of securing the good offices of Wolsey, by promising him all his interest for the elevation of the cardinal to the pontifical throne in case of the death of Leo the Tenth. Charles embarked for Flanders on the 30th of May, after having obtained a promise from Henry that he would enter into no

engagement with Francis the First that could be prejudicial to the emperor, and also that Henry would pay a visit to Charles at Gravelines before he returned to England. The splendour of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with its fêtes, tournaments, masques, and balls, has been so often described, that we will pass over it, briefly stating, that business was not lost sight of in a meeting supposed to be devoted to pleasure, for the project of the marriage of the Princess Mary with the dauphin was again revived, and other conditions on various points arranged. Little did Queen Katharine dream that Anne Boleyn, who was present on this memorable occasion, was one day to rival her in the affections of Henry, and to take her place on the throne. Nor did Henry notice his fair subject who was soon to kindle such a flame in his heart. On the 24th of June the sovereigns parted, after having spent three weeks together in a round of amusements, in which each vied with the other in the display of gorgeous splendour. Henry and Katharine proceeded to Gravelines on the 10th of July, but returned the same night to Calais, where, the next day, the emperor and his aunt Marguerite, the governess of the Low Country, joined them, and spent three days in their society, which occasioned no little dissatisfaction to Francis the First when he heard it, his great object being to keep these monarchs as much asunder as possible.

Katharine had for some time marked the great influence the cardinal had acquired over her husband, and being a woman of quick perception, strongly suspected it was often exercised more for his own personal aggrandisement than for the glory or honour of Henry. The ostentatious display of his wealth, his undisguised assumption of power, and the princely splendour which Wolsey delighted to exhibit, had alienated from him the esteem and good-will of the queen. The cardinal was not slow to perceive nor to resent, as far as he dared, the change in Katharine's behaviour to him, and this resentment had the foundation of that dislike to her, which afterwards proved so prejudicial to her interests. Wolsey knew that hitherto the queen possessed considerable influence over her husband, who, less quick-sighted with regard to the character of the wily cardinal, might one day be enlightened on this point by her. Wolsey therefore feared, as much as he disliked, the queen, and when Henry's passion for her, stirred by many years of marriage, led him to seek a separation from her, he found in this unholy prelate a ready instrument to work out his desire, instead of a moral and religious Mentor to dissuade him from a measure so fraught with mischief to his kingdom and dishonour to his name.

The stately gravity of Katharine, unsuited her from taking any part in the coarse pleasures of her husband, seemed to him a tacit reproach for his too great indulgence in them. She could not gallop by his side in the field sports in which he delighted nor dress up in the fantastic masqueradings in which he was wont to exhibit himself before his subjects. Dignified and thoughtful, Katharine, who had been nobly educated by her mother the great Isabella loved study, and evinced a decided preference for the society of the wise and good. These characteristics peculiar to her country and education, made her appear much older in the eyes of her husband than she really was, and with only five years' difference in their age, Henry's boyish tastes and pursuits were so long continued, that he fancied himself many years younger than Katharine. She had more than the ordinary steadiness and stitichness of a woman of her age. Her dress, too, rich and queenlike as it was while it added to the imposing grandeur of her aspect, also made her look less youthful so that even ere Time had robbed her of those personal attractions in which her contemporaries declared her not to be deficient. Henry considered her past the age for having a right to the affection and fidelity which he had sworn to her at the altar. But though Katharine took no part in the amusements of Henry, she offered no objections to his indulgence of them, nor evinced any symptoms of jealousy until he drew attention by his too evident admiration of Mary Boleyn, the elder sister of Anne, who was afterwards to win his fickle heart. Although deeply wounded, Katharine conducted herself with a calm dignity that enabled her to avoid all slander, and which probably prevented Henry from pursuing his flirtation any further, for Mary Boleyn married, in July, 1521, William Carey, a descendant of the Beauforts, and not remotely allied to the king himself, but destitute of fortune, which latter circumstance incurred the deep displeasure of her father at the marriage. The jealousy of Katharine was again excited, four years later, when Henry created Henry Fitzroy, his natural son by Lady Talbois, duke of Richmond and Somerset, grand admiral of England, and invested him with the order of the Garter. To confer such distinction on a mere child was a manifestation of a want of respect to the queen's feeling that greatly pained her. It also proved that he no longer hoped for a son by her, and this was very galling to Katharine.

In May, 1522 the Emperor Charles the Fifth again visited England, drawn thither by two motives, the first to incite Henry to a league with him against France; and the second, to propose a marriage between

himself and the Princess Mary, then in her sixth year. Mary had been for three years already affianced to the French dauphin, and, with equal disregard of all faith, Henry treated the present contract ; some time after, offering his daughter to the King of Scotland, as if such previous engagements did not exist.

The league now formed bound each sovereign to espouse the views and quarrels of the other, and subsequently led to the troubles of France. Charles obtained the loan of a considerable sum from Henry, and departed for Southampton, where his fleet was to meet him, well pleased with the results of his visit, *Henry accompanying him as far as Winchester*, where, on the 22nd of June, they parted with the show of much affection ; and the emperor embarked on the 6th of July at Southampton. The commencement of hostilities between England and France soon followed. The English garrison in Calais and Guisnes, and the French in Ardres and Boulogne, seized every opportunity of invading each other's frontiers. An honourable proof of the bravery of our troops is cited by Hall and Holinshed. Three hundred French cavalry, lying in wait near Guisnes, sent some dragoons in front to draw out the English ; eight archers issued forth and maintained a spirited skirmish, until twelve demi-lances, said to be all Welchmen, came to their aid, which the French perceiving, brought out the whole three hundred horsemen, but our soldiers charged them with such courage that they killed many, wounded several, and opened their way to the town.

The war with France caused the return of Anne Boleyn to England, where soon after she was appointed maid of honour to Katharine, an event fraught with misery to the queen ; for, although some historians have asserted that Henry had resolved on seeking a divorce from Katharine previously to his passion for Anne Boleyn, there can be little doubt that his eagerness to obtain it was greatly increased by his desire to wed her, however he might urge his conscientious scruples as an excuse for it. These scruples had not disturbed his peace during eighteen years of marriage, but suddenly awakened when Katharine, no longer capable of exciting his sensual passions, had become an object of indifference, if not of dislike, to him. Henry's was not a heart to retain any of the feelings that influence noble natures towards one once beloved when passion is sated ; and he little heeded the sorrow he might inflict on her who had been for eighteen years the partner of his life, provided he gratified his own inclination. Charles the Fifth had incurred the enmity of Wolsey by not

having urged his influence for that cardinal's election to the papal throne and the queen had offended the proud prelate by her disapproval of his ostentation and vanity Wolsey had marked the growing indifference of his master towards Katharine—an indifference of which she was too deeply sensible not to be rendered very unhappy by it. The effect it produced on her health and spirits by impairing her personal attractions and increasing her habitual gravity into a fixed melancholy served to make her still less pleasing to Henry, who disliked her the more for the change in her produced by his own unkindness. He pretended to entertain scruples on the subject of their marriage revealed these scruples to his confessor and made them the excuse for gradually alienating himself from the society of the queen. There remains little doubt that Wolsey at first encouraged the king to divorce Katharine. He was prompted to do this not only by his desire to gratify Henry but to avenge himself on the queen and her nephew the emperor for the real or imaginary slights he had received from them. He also wished that Henry should wed the Duchess d'Alençon whose portrait he had procured to show him. Although Henry had meditated the divorce for some time it was not until the close of the year 1526 that the queen became aware of his intention. When she heard of it she despatched a confidential agent to Spain to convey the sad news to her nephew, but Wolsey took care that he never reached his destined course, by having him stopped on the road.

The defeat of Francis the First at Pavia and his consequent imprisonment in Spain, had excited something like a generous sentiment in the breast of Henry and led to his using his interest in his behalf. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles the Fifth whom he disliked and envied he wished to assist in securing the liberty of the French king and the good feeling prompted more by ill will to Charles than friendship for Francis so far conciliated the latter, and the regent his mother as to lead to a renewal of friendly intelligence with them. Soon after the return of Francis to his own kingdom, and while yet his sons were detained as hostages by Charles Wolsey was sent to France to treat for a marriage between the Princess Mary and Francis or his son the Duke of Orleans. The cardinal arrived at Calais with an equipage of nearly one thousand men on the 11th of July, 1527, and was met at Boulogne by Byron with no less a train. After him came the Cardinal of Lorraine sent by the French king to do Wolsey honour, and to be the bearer of a letter from Francis containing the assurance that himself and Madame Louisa his mother, would meet

him at Amiens ; which assurance was fulfilled on the 4th of August, when the king and his mother, royally attended, met him a mile and a half out of the town, and conducted him, with every mark of respect that could be shown to a sovereign, to his lodgings. The cardinal accompanied Francis to Compiègne, where a treaty was made by which the Princess Mary was to marry the Duke of Orleans, and Francis was to wed Leonora, the sister of Charles ; and the pope, then kept a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, should be set free by mediation or force, as soon as possible. While this treaty was going on, the English ambassadors in Spain were written to by Wolsey to desire that all rumours of a divorce between Katharine and Henry should be contradicted, and to assure Charles the Fifth that any such had only originated in an objection made by the Bishop of Tarbes, when he had lately been in England, concerning the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. This excuse had also been made to the privy council of Henry, when he first touched on the illegality of his marriage to them ; but it probably was suggested only by the crafty monarch himself as an excuse for seeking a divorce.

On the 16th of September, Wolsey departed from Compiègne, loaded with costly gifts by Francis, who conducted him through the town, and a mile beyond it, accompanied by the titular King of Navarre, the pope's legate, and the highest of the French nobility. In return for this stately embassy, Francis, the following month, sent the grand master, Anne de Montmorency, John de Belloy, Bishop of Bayonne, John Brisson, first president of Rouen, and Le Seigneur de Humières, as his ambassadors, to ratify the treaty in England. These, with a noble train of no fewer than six hundred horse, were conducted to London on the 20th of October, and lodged in the Bishop of London's palace. On the 10th of November they were entertained by the king at Greenwich with a feast, said by Belloy to be the most sumptuous he had ever seen, and followed by a comedy, in which the Princess Mary took a part. On the same day Henry received, by the hand of Montmorency, the order of St. Michael, and Francis, in Paris, that of the Garter, sent over to him by three knights of that order, with Sir Thomas Wriothesley, "garter herald."

In 1528, Charles the Fifth first intimated to Henry his knowledge and disapproval of the intended divorce. This intimation was given in the answer sent by Clarencieux king-of-arms, who had accompanied Guyenne, king-of-arms, to Burgos, on the 22nd of January, 1528, to declare war on the parts of Henry and Francis against Spain, unless

certain conditions were complied with. "It being possible," said Charles, "that I have more just occasion to make war against the king your master than he hath against me, especially if it be true (which is said in England, France, and other parts) that your king will be divorced from the queen his wife, and marry with another (notwithstanding the dispensations granted on that behalf). Since, besides all other injuries done herein, it will be made manifest his intention was to make the lady (he pretended to give me in marriage) a bastard." Then followed a severe censure on Cardinal Wolsey, whose ambition and covetousness Charles the Fifth exposed in no measured terms, and whom he blamed for all. How heavily must this have fallen on the heart of Katharine, tortured as she was by all the pangs of jealousy at witnessing Henry's unconcealed passion for her rival, Anne Boleyn, to whom the courtiers now paid that homage which they had before laid at her feet. In vain did Katharine endeavour to win back the truant heart of her cruel husband, by affecting a cheerfulness that was foreign to her character. The attempt was utterly unsuccessful; and the natural gaiety and coquetry of Anne, increased by her long residence in the court of France, formed a dangerous contrast to the staid and matronly decorum of the unhappy queen. But, though tortured by jealousy, Katharine maintained her dignity, by forbearing to reproach or mark her disapprobation of Anne Boleyn. On one occasion only did she betray her knowledge of the position of Anne, when the latter, playing at cards, hesitated a moment about playing a king. "My Lady Anne," said the queen, "you have the good luck to stop at a king; but you are like others, you will have all or none."

Henry used his utmost dissimulation towards the queen, while urging on the divorce by every means in his power. He tried to make her believe for some time, that he only agitated the question of the validity of his marriage with her in order to silence for ever all doubts of the legitimacy of their daughter, the Princess Mary. But when she discovered that he was really bent on obtaining a divorce, she openly declared her determination of opposing it. Henry had privately sent William Wright, doctor of law, to Rome, to negotiate for the divorce; but the pope being then a prisoner, and wholly in the power of Charles the Fifth, offered a great obstacle to the wish of Henry. In this state of affairs, Henry demanded whether Katharine could not be persuaded to become a nun; and whether if he, in order to impose on her, took the vows of a monk, could not afterwards have a dispensation from the said vows from the pope, so as to be able to contract a second

marriage, nay more, whether he might not be the husband of two living wives? to such lengths did his crafty mind and crooked policy carry him. Many were the hours which he devoted to the pages of Thomas Aquinas, in order to discover how far the Levitical laws could be turned to his advantage, and he was not a little pleased when he found in them that the dispensation from the pope for his marriage with Katharine could not hold valid against the right divine, by the reason that for dispensing with a law it is necessary that he who does so should be superior to him who made it. This decision of Henry's favourite theologian encouraged all his hopes, and he addressed himself to the Archbishop Warham, who had formerly declared against the legality of the marriage with Katharine to consult the bishops of England on the point. The writings of Luther had even then, lately as they had appeared, considerably lessened in England the general opinion of the papal power, and as the validity of Henry's marriage rested solely on the dispensation for it accorded by Julius the Second, people hitherto devoted to the court of Rome now openly disputed whether a marriage wholly contrary to the law of God could be permitted by *His* viceregent on earth. The result of the appeal to the bishops was a paper signed by the whole bench, in which they declared that the marriage was contrary to divine law and public morals. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, alone refused to sign this paper, but it is asserted that Archbishop Warham, unknown to him, put his name to it.

The only opposition to the divorce anticipated by Henry was that of Charles the Fifth, and thus he determined to brave. The imprisonment of the pope, who could look only to the kings of France and England, now united, for aid, strengthened his hopes, but his strongest claim for the divorce, namely, that the dispensation granted by Julius the Second for the marriage with Katharine was contrary to divine laws, could hardly be urged to another pope, each papal sovereign wishing to maintain the inviolability of the power and acts of his predecessor, and the impossibility of his committing an error. In this dilemma the only expedient that offered was to prove that the bull of Julius the Second was rendered null by that pontiff's having been surprised into granting it, which made it revocable even according to the opinion of the court of Rome, the bull having been granted at the joint prayer of Henry and Katharine, on the plea that their marriage was necessary for the preservation of the peace between England and Spain. In this plea two causes for nullifying the bull were found the first,

that Henry, being only twelve years old when it was prayed for, could not be supposed to comprehend the policy which dictated such a measure, and consequently that the prayer had not come from him ; and the second, that the state of affairs between England and Spain, when the prayer was made, did not render such a marriage necessary for the maintenance of peace between them ; and that hence Julius the Second had been deceived in granting the bull. Another cause of its nullity was discovered in the fact, that the bull being issued for the maintenance of peace between Henry the Seventh and Isabella of Spain, this motive ceased when the marriage had been consummated, both these sovereigns being dead. It was alleged that the protestation of Henry against the marriage, after the bull had been granted, and previously to its consummation, rendered the bull accorded by Julius the Second null, and made it necessary to have another bull granted to render the marriage valid. Such were the pleas urged by Henry to induce the pope to revoke the dispensation given by Julius ; and had conscientious scruples alone influenced Henry in praying for this measure, a new bull from the Pope might have been obtained to ease his conscience by rendering valid the marriage. Building on the painful position of the pope at that crisis to obtain what he required, Henry despatched Knight to Rome, to solicit Clement the Seventh to sign no less than four separate documents drawn up in England : the first, a commission to Wolsey, to judge and decide the affair, with so many English bishops ; the second, to grant a bull for declaring the king's marriage null, on account that Katharine's marriage with Prince Arthur was alleged to have been consummated, although she swore to the contrary ; the third, for the pope to grant a dispensation to Henry to marry another woman ; and the fourth, an engagement on the part of the pope never to revoke any one of the acts now to be signed. Secretly as Henry had managed this negociation, it had already reached the ears of the emperor, who prohibited Henry's requests being attended to ; and the result was, that the pope, wishing to conciliate Henry, and Francis, who espoused Henry's side for the divorce, determined on conciliating both sovereigns, in order to play them off against Charles the Fifth without however satisfying them, and hence pursued the most disingenuous conduct to all parties. While a prisoner, and strictly guarded by a Spanish captain, Knight could not have an audience with Clement the Seventh ; he nevertheless found means to inform him of the wishes of Henry, and when, shortly after, the pope escaped from prison to Orvieto, Knight joined him there, and

delivered to him a letter from Cardinal Wolsey, strongly urging him to grant the divorce. The pope promised to do all that he could, but advised that nothing should be hurried,—in fact, he wished to gain time for the accomplishment of his own ends ; but Knight, knowing the king's impatience, pressed Clement so vigorously, that he at length pledged himself to sign the acts demanded, on condition that no use should be made of them until the French and Germans had vacated Italy. Knight accepted this condition, thinking that, when once these acts were signed and in the possession of Henry he could use them when he pleased ; but the pope was not to be imposed on, and, pretending to desire nothing so much as to satisfy the King of England, he employed all the address and cunning in which he was a proficient to prolong the affair. Various were the expedients used by Clement to deceive Knight and Gregory Cassali, now joined with him, and to delay accordingly the acts required by Henry ; among others he declared, that before signing them he wished to consult the cardinal of the four crowned saints. Knight and Cassali believed that all now required was to secure the favour of this cardinal, and, amply supplied with gold, they were not sparing of it. The cardinal having examined the acts, declared that they contained many errors, and proposed to draw up new ones. This took time ; and when these new acts were taken to the pope for his signature, he announced that he could not grant them until he had informed the emperor of it, or unless, to explain such a breach of promise, General Lautrec was made to advance on Orvieto, and to demand on the part of the King of France that the signature should be given for his ally the King of England. As this measure would occupy a considerable time, it was rejected by the English emissaries ; and their object being to finish the affair before the emperor could be informed of it, they became so importunate with the pope, that he at length accorded them the commission for Cardinal Wolsey, with the bull of dispensation for the king, and promised to send to England the other bull for breaking the marriage. But now, when Knight and Cassali imagined that they had succeeded in carrying the points they had sought, Clement, by an act of cunning for which they were wholly unprepared, had duped them. He had dated the two acts from his prison, although they were signed some time after he had left it ; hence Henry could not make use of them, knowing that it would be thought that the pope only granted them under constraint, and in the hope of recovering his liberty through the aid of England. Henry also knew that all acts signed by a prisoner were

considered null, of which Francis the First had given a proof by his breach of the treaty he had not long before signed at Madrid. Thus Henry found himself defeated, notwithstanding all the efforts he made to obtain his liberty to wed Anne Boleyn.

Under no other pope could Henry have experienced the same difficulty in what he sought, and found the same disingenuousness as in Clement the Seventh,—and from two causes : the first was, that the pope being illegitimate, he always dreaded lest the exposure of this fact should hurl him from the papal throne, to the possession of which illegitimacy was a bar ; and the second was, that the object nearest his heart was to re-establish the house of Medici, of which he was an illegitimate branch, in the government of Florence, for the fulfilment of which project he counted on the assistance of the emperor. Thus, while he avoided openly declaring for Charles the Fifth, while a powerful army was on the point of invading Naples, he wished to preserve terms with him, as well as with the Kings of England and France, until the result of the wars should enable him to judge which side it would be the most profitable for him to declare for.

The war declared by Henry and Francis against the emperor had not turned the thoughts of the former from the divorce. It still occupied him, and even were he disposed to forget it, the position in which Anne Boleyn found herself ever since the subject had been made public, was too painful to a woman ambitious to ascend a throne, and desirous to vindicate her honour by a marriage with him by whom it had been compromised, to permit her to relax her efforts to urge Henry to procure the divorce. He pressed the pope, through Gregory Cassali, the English agent at Rome, to grant other bulls instead of those objectionable ones formerly accorded, but Cassali pressed Clement the Seventh in vain. All he could obtain from the wily pontiff was, the advice that Henry should break his marriage in virtue of the commission granted to the legate, but with as little noise as possible, and then to wed immediately the woman he preferred ; adding that it would be much easier to accord Henry a bull of confirmation for what he *had done*, than to grant him one to *permit* him to do it. This advice excited the suspicion of Henry. To break his marriage without publicity he knew would be impossible, as the queen must be heard in her defence, otherwise the judgment would be deemed null. After much deliberation Henry sent Gardiner and Fox to Rome, once more to solicit new bulls. A commission to Wolsey was prayed for, to enable him to judge the cause and have power to break the marriage ; but, neverthe-

less, that the Princess Mary, the sole offspring of it, should be declared legitimate,—a proof that Henry had not then become wholly indifferent to his daughter, or that he wished to conciliate the emperor by not having her legitimacy impeached. These emissaries were charged to assure the pope that Wolsey had never advised the king to the divorce, and also to inform Clement of the extraordinary merit of the lady whom Henry meant to wed. But Clement was by no means disposed to accord what was demanded until the war in Italy should be decided. He prevaricated, postponed, and gained time, by every possible pretext, until Henry losing all patience, the pope at length, on the 13th of April, 1528, signed a bull appointing Wolsey judge in the affair, and naming the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other bishop in England he preferred to act with him, and to be invested with all the powers that Henry would desire. This bull was, however, far from satisfying Henry, for it contained no clause to prevent its revocation whenever Clement might think fit; and the next objection was, that Wolsey being prime minister, and known to be wholly devoted to the king, would be considered a partial judge. Therefore, Henry demanded to have another legate appointed to act with Wolsey, and a positive engagement signed by the pope, that the commission would not be revoked. The success of Lautrec in Italy alone secured the pope's assent to this request, but he nevertheless arranged that his compliance with Henry's prayer should not have the effect of expediting the affair in question. He named in the bull accorded the 6th of June, 1528, at Orvieto, Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, bishop of Salisbury, his legates, giving them the same power previously granted to Wolsey, appointing them his viceregents for the divorce, and gave them his full authority to act in the affair. On the 23d of July he gave the engagement requested by Henry, placed in the hands of Campeggio the decree for breaking the marriage, and now all seemed in a fair way of satisfying Henry. But the decree, though signed the 23d of July, was not sent to England until late in August; and Campeggio did not commence his journey there until after the affairs in Italy wore a very different aspect, and left the pope nothing to fear from France, but much to hope from the emperor. Consequently, it no longer suited Clement to offend the emperor by having granted the divorce, nor yet to incur the anger of Henry by openly nullifying what he had already allowed. He commanded his legate to prolong the affair in England as much as possible, not on any account to pronounce the sentence of divorce until he had received an express order from

his own hand and not to permit the bull to be seen by any one but the king and Wolsey and never to let it out of his own possession. Campeggio did not arrive in England until October, seven months after he was named legate, and before he reached it a new and unexpected obstacle had opposed itself to the divorce in a brief confirming the bull for the dispensation granted for the marriage of Henry and Katharine by Julius the Second and said to have been discovered by the ministers of the emperor at Rome. Although this brief bore incontestable proofs of its being a forgery it nevertheless was a new difficulty in the way of the king's wishes. Nor did the conduct of Campeggio on his arrival tend to satisfy those who had counted so much on it. He solemnly exhorted the king to live on good terms with his queen when Henry expected that he would separate them for ever, but, on the other hand he advised Katharine to yield submission to the will of the king, for that it would be vain to oppose it. Thus the legate satisfied neither the king nor the queen, and was answered by Katharine, that she should never cease to consider herself the wife of the king until separated from him by a sentence of divorce by the pope. On this Campeggio declared that he could take no further step without fresh instructions from the pope, and to receive these six months more were wasted, during which time he pacified Henry by showing him and Wolsey the bull, but refused to allow any of the privy council to see it, though much pressed by the king to do so.

The star of Charles the Fifth having ascended in the horizon, Clement became more anxious than ever for an alliance with him, and the failure of the invasion of Naples having released him from all dread of Francis the First and Henry the Eighth he cared little about conciliating them. He, however, formed an excuse for not satisfying Henry about the divorce in complaining that the two kings had not fulfilled their promise of causing Ravenna and Ferrara to be restored to him, hoping that if he made it appear that the divorce depended on this, these places might be yielded to him before he concluded the treaty he meditated to form with the emperor. Francis and Henry had discovered the false game that Clement was playing with Spain, and had complained of it through their ambassadors at Rome, but the pope persevered in declaring that he meant to maintain a perfect neutrality, and to deceive Henry he sent to England an emissary, named Campana, charged to assure the king of his good intentions, while he conveyed an order to Campeggio to burn the bull intrusted to him, and to postpone the judgment on the divorce, both which

commands were punctually obeyed. Henry's patience now exhausted, and fully aware that the delay to his wishes originated with the pope, sent Vannes and Bryan to Rome, to endeavour to ascertain the real state of affairs. They were instructed to make strict search in the *chancellerie* of the pope for the pretended brief of Julius the Second ; to consult the canons at Rome on the most practicable mode of expediting a divorce between supposititious parties ; and, in case they found the pope afraid of the emperor, to offer him, from Henry, a guard of two thousand men. If this offer failed to induce him to satisfy Henry, he was to be menaced by threats of his anger and vengeance. The messengers sent by the king, perceiving that the pope inclined wholly to the emperor, fulfilled their instructions by using menaces, where amicable measures had failed ; but in vain, for, though Clement tried to deceive them, he did not succeed, and they returned to inform Henry that he must no longer count on the good offices of the pope.

Campeggio arrived in England in October ; and on the 8th of November he and Wolsey had an interview with Katharine, to announce that they were about to hold a court of inquiry as to the validity of her marriage. On this occasion the queen spoke to Wolsey in the following cutting words :—"For this trouble I may thank you, my lord of York, because I ever wondered at your pride and vain-glory, abhorred your voluptuous life, and little cared for your presumption and tyranny ; and, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire ; especially for the great grudge you bear to my nephew, the emperor, whom you hate worse than a scorpion, because he could not gratify your ambition by making you pope by force. And, therefore, have you said, more than once, you could humble him and his friends, and you have kept true this promise ; for of all his wars and vexations he may only thank you. As for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to by this new-found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause." It was not, however, until May, that Campeggio took any effective step in the business he had come to arrange, and Henry's impatience increasing in proportion to the delays offered by the pope, he determined on having the judgment at once commenced by the legates.

The commission was read on the 31st of May, but the citation to the king and queen was only issued for the 18th of June, 1529,—another proof of the unwillingness of the pope to conclude the affair, and of the obedience of Campeggio to his master's wishes. When the

king and queen appeared before Campeggio and Wolsey, Henry, when called, replied, "Here I am," but the queen, rising with great dignity from her seat, took no notice of the legates, but approaching Henry, knelt before him, and said, "That being a poor woman and a stranger in his kingdom, where she could hope neither for good advice nor impartial judges in her emergency, she begged to know in what she had offended him? That she had been twenty years his wife, had borne him three children, and had ever studied to please him. She appealed to his conscience whether she had not come to him a virgin, and declared that, had she been capable of anything criminal, she would consent to be turned away with ignominy. Their mutual parents," she asserted, "had been wise and prudent princes, had good and learned men for their advisers, when her marriage with the king had been arranged. That, therefore, she would not acknowledge the court before which she then appeared, for her advocates, being the subjects of the king, and named by him, could not properly defend her right." Having thus said, she arose from her knees, made a deep courtesy to the king, and, without noticing the legates, withdrew.

"Madam," said Griffiths, her receiver general, on whose arm she leant, "you are called back" (for the crier made the hall ring with the summons), "Katharine, queen of England, come again into court!" The queen replied to Griffiths, "I hear it well enough, but, on—on—go you on, for this is no court wherein I can have justice, proceed, therefore."

When she had retired, Henry declared that "he had always been well satisfied with the queen, and that in desiring to separate from her he was actuated solely by motives of religion and conscience. He added, that the scruples he entertained had been suggested by those of the Bishop of Tarbes, and had been confirmed by all the bishops of England." The Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed this statement relative to the bishops, but Fisher, bishop of Rochester, with a courage that did him honour, stood forth and denied having signed the paper presented to the king—a denial which cost him his life.

The queen was again cited to appear on the 25th of June, but she did not attend, and sent an appeal to the legates against all their proceedings. She was therefore declared contumacious. While this matter was proceeding, the emperor was using all his endeavours to induce the pope to remove the case to Rome, and menacing to depose him, on the plea of his illegitimacy, unless he complied with his wishes. The conclusion of the treaty between Charles the Fifth and

Clement the Seventh, whereby the emperor bound himself to re-establish the house of Medici at Florence, to restore Ravenna and Servia to Clement, and to give him possession of Modena and Reggio, vanquished the fears and scruples of the wily pontiff; and in July, 1529, Clement announced to the English ambassadors at Rome his determination to remove the case to that capital. On the 18th of July he despatched the bull of citation to England, requiring the presence of the king and queen at Rome before the expiration of forty days, the said bull containing certain censures in case of disobedience, as unceremoniously expressed as if applied to any simple individual instead of to a great sovereign. The indignation of Henry may be well imagined. To attend the citation would be to act contrary to the laws of England; and to have the contents of the bull made generally known, would be to expose his dignity to the animadversions of his subjects. Baffled and insulted by the pope, and tormented no less by the firmness of Katharine to maintain her rights than by the impatience of Anne Boleyn to usurp them, and angered by the treaty between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, Henry found himself in a very annoying position. Whatever respect he might have hitherto entertained for Katharine, had now ceased: the woman who opposed an obstacle to the gratification of his passions, could only be an object of hatred to one so utterly selfish as he was, and gladly would he have avenged his disappointed hopes on her, had he not feared to incur greater odium than he had yet excited.

The delays which had occurred in the affair of the divorce had excited the suspicions of Anne Boleyn that Wolsey had not been sincere in his attempts to remove them. He had formerly incurred her hatred by interfering to prevent her marriage with Percy, afterwards earl of Northumberland; and though this hatred had slumbered while she believed Wolsey necessary to her new interests, and willing to assist in her elevation, it awoke afresh when the unaccountable delays to the divorce led her to doubt his zeal or his truth. Nor was she wrong in her suspicions. The fact was, that while Wolsey believed that Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn was only a light one that fruition would pall, and that, if free, he would wed the Duchess d'Alençon, the sister of Francis the First, whose portrait he had procured to tempt him, he was extremely desirous for the divorce from Katharine, whom he disliked. But when he found that Anne Boleyn, whose ill-will towards him he had long suspected, was to be queen, he wished the divorce not to be granted, though he

dared not let it appear. It was at this period that Henry became acquainted with Thomas Cranmer, a skilful doctor in theology, who being questioned as to his notion of the best means of procuring the divorce, replied, that it would be to procure the opinions in writing of all the universities in Europe, and of the persons the most versed in theology, on the legality of the marriage of Henry with Katharine, that the result would be, either the universities and theologians would pronounce the dispensation granted by Julius the Second sufficient, or invalid and that the pope would not dare to decide against the judgment of the most learned men of the time. No sooner had Henry heard the opinion of Cranmer, than, struck by its good sense, he exclaimed with his usual grossness, 'At length I have caught the sow by the ear.' He sent for Cranmer, took him into his especial favour, and from this event may be dated the commencement of that great reformation which followed.

The dislike entertained by Anne Boleyn to Wolsey had by degrees influenced Henry against him, and in October, 1529 the procurator general having accused him of violation of the statute of *præmunire*, the king deprived him of the great seal, and conferred it on Sir Thomas More. Other changes followed, and Wolsey, being declared culpable, was disgraced and commanded by the king to quit the palace at York, and retire to the house appertaining to the bishopric of Winchester. Nevertheless after some time, Henry felt a return of his partiality for his old favourite, and restored him to the sees of York and Winchester.

By the advice of Cranmer, Henry sent learned men to France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, to consult the universities in these places on the divorce, and the decisions of all were unanimous that the dispensation granted by Julius the Second for the marriage of Henry and Katharine being against the divine law, could not be valid. Henry now got the greatest men of his kingdom to address the pope in order to obtain the divorce. The letter was strong and fearless, and gave Clement to understand that they considering their king's case as their own, any longer delay to his wishes might endanger the pope's interests in England. This measure produced the effect of Clement's offering to give permission to Henry to have two wives—an expedient that did not at all satisfy either Henry or his subjects. Determined to carry his point, yet fearful that Clement might send a bull of excommunication against him to England the king issued a proclamation, that no bulls from Rome that could be prejudicial to the prerogatives of the

crown, should be henceforth received, under the most heavy penalties ; thus excluding, by anticipation, the censures he looked for. The king left no means untried to obtain Katharine's consent to the divorce. He sent nobles and bishops to try to persuade her to withdraw her appeal to the pope, or to allow the affair to be judged by eight persons considered competent. But nothing could move her to yield to either of these proposals ; and Henry, furious at being defeated, separated from her on the 14th of June, 1531, having ordered her to retire to one of the royal residences in the country. In October, 1532, Henry and Francis the First encountered each other between Calais and Boulogne. Anne Boleyn, lately created Marchioness of Pembroke, and now always with the king, accompanied him. During this meeting, Francis advised Henry to marry Anne Boleyn without waiting for the dispensation of the pope ; an advice said to have been speedily adopted, as a private marriage between Henry and Anne was alleged to have taken place at Calais. It was not until 1533, that the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn was declared ; this measure being rendered absolutely necessary by her pregnancy. On the 20th of May, 1533, Katharine was cited to appear at Dunstable, the town nearest to her abode ; and having refused to obey the summons, a sentence was pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 23d of the same month, declaring her marriage with Henry null and void, as being contrary to the divine law. On the 28th of the same month another sentence confirmed the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn ; and on the 1st of June Anne was crowned.

The law enacted on February the 4th, 1533, that no appeal should be made to any power out of England was aimed no less directly at Katharine than at the papal power, as the following passage in the act proved :—" And whereas Edward I, Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and other kings of this realm, have made sundry ordinances, laws, and statutes, for the conservation of prerogative, liberties, and pre-eminences of the said imperial crown, and of the jurisdictions spiritual and temporal of the same, to keep it from the annoyance of the see of Rome, as also from the authority of other foreign potentates, attempting the diminution or violation thereof ; And because, notwithstanding the said acts, divers appeals have been sued to the see of Rome, in causes testamentary, causes of matrimony, and divorces, &c., &c., &c., to the great vexation and charge of the king's highness ; and his subjects, and the delay of justice ; And forasmuch as the distance of the way to Rome is such as the necessary proofs and true knowledge of the cause cannot be brought thither, and represented

so well as in this kingdom ; And that, therefore, many persons be without remedy : It is, therefore, enacted, that all causes testamentary, causes of matrimony, and divorces, &c., &c., &c., either commenced, or depending formerly, or which hereafter shall commence, in any of the king's dominions, shall be heard, discussed, and definitely determined within the king's jurisdiction and authority in the courts spiritual and temporal of the same, any foreign inhibition or restraints to the contrary notwithstanding. So that, although any excommunication or interdiction on this occasion should follow from that see, the prelates and clergy of this realm should administer sacraments, and say divine service, and do all other duties, as formerly hath been used, upon penalty of one year's imprisonment and fine at the king's pleasure ; And they who procured the said sentences should fall into *præmunire*." The enactment of this law deprived Katharine of the power of appeal, and the pope of that of punishing the contumacy of Henry. Katharine would, however, never resign the title of queen, though Henry strictly commanded that it should no longer be accorded her, and that she should only be recognised as princess-dowager and widow of Prince Arthur. The queen was at Greenwich when the king sent to announce his determination on this head. She only replied, "God grant my husband a quiet conscience, and I mean to abide by no decision but that of Rome." The king, full of fury at this reply, accompanied the queen to Windsor, and there abruptly left her, leaving peremptory orders, that she should depart from thence before his return. She withdrew, saying, "Go where I may, I am his wife, and for him I will pray." She then betook herself to More, in Hertfordshire. From that time she never saw again either the king or her child. But although the proud spirit of the injured Katharine quailed not under the wrongs and indignities offered to her, her physical force, less vigorous than her moral, gave way, and she sickened and drooped. She pined to behold her daughter again, and writhed in greater agony at knowing that her beloved Mary's rights were passed over in the succession to give way to the offspring of Anne Boleyn than she had done for the injuries and insults heaped on herself. Her letters to the Princess Mary at this time are no less full of tenderness than of good sense.

The angry spirit of Henry broke forth with unbridled fury in the case of Elizabeth Barton, a nun, called the Holy Maid of Kent. This poor woman, a person of weak intellect, excited by the general sympathy felt among the religious in England for Katharine, denounced the divorce and marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn in the incoherent ravings of her disordered imagination. For this act the wretched

woman was attainted of high treason and executed, instead of being consigned to an hospital; and Sir Thomas More and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, incurred the hatred of Henry for being suspected of giving ear to her wild predictions. Katharine removed from More to Ampthill. Here she employed her hours in prayer and good works, her only amusement being embroidery, in which she excelled and took much pleasure. Having heard of the illness of the Princess Mary, which occurred soon after her cruel separation from her mother, and probably in consequence of it, Katharine entreated, through Cromwell, to have permission to see her child; but this entreaty, though made in a spirit of humility and motherly tenderness, that must have wrought on any heart less stern than Henry's, was refused. The residence of Katharine was now removed to Bugden, a few miles from Huntingdon, whence the letters from her to the Princess Mary are supposed to have been written. Here, her ill-health increasing, she was observed to devote even more time than before to pious contemplation and prayer. For hours she would remain in the privacy of her chamber, on her knees, bathed in tears. It is piteous to think of this proud woman reduced to such sorrow, and though looking only to death for a release from it, too deeply attached to her daughter to desire that relief. But even the quiet of this solitude was denied her; for it was broken by the visits of those sent by Henry from time to time to offer her some new insult, either by bringing before her articles to prove why she should resign all right to the title of queen or wife to Henry, or to insist that those around her addressed her only as princess-dowager. Such visits, however they angered or tortured her, never induced her to resign her rights, nor to betray any hatred of her who had usurped them.

The cruelties that marked the reign of Henry at this period prove that the gratification of his passion for Anne Boleyn had not smoothed his rugged nature. The violent deaths of Sir Thomas More and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had greatly shocked and grieved Katharine; and the effect on her health soon became visible by its increased delicacy. Aware of her fast declining state, she applied to have her residence removed to the neighbourhood of London; but this request, like her former one to see her daughter, was sternly refused, and no choice allowed her but to proceed to Fotheringay Castle, a spot so insalubrious, that she at once declared she would only be taken there by force. Some time after, she removed to Kimbolton Castle, a place little less unhealthy than Fotheringay.

Such was the respect Katharine inspired in the breasts of those

appointed to attend her, that they could not be induced to address her as any other than the king's wife and queen; and as this was strictly prohibited by Henry, several of them demanded their dismissal, while others incurred punishment for this violation of the king's commands. The unhappy queen's words were noted down and reported to the privy council by Sir Edmund Bedingfield, who had been appointed steward of her household, and who, by the wish of Henry, was to make reductions in her establishment. How moderate were the desires of Katharine may be judged by the fact that she required only to retain "her confessor, her physician, and her apothecary; two men servants, and as many women as it should please the king's grace to appoint." Cruel and heartless as had hitherto been the conduct of Henry towards Katharine, it now became marked by a meanness, no less unworthy a sovereign than of her to whom it was directed. Katharine's confessors, Fathers Forest and Abell, were thrown into prison, and persecuted in the most savage manner, to force from them declarations that might justify the divorce from their royal mistress. Finally they were both put to death in the most horrible manner; Forest being burnt alive with the most incredible barbarities. The income assigned Katharine was only that to which as widow of Prince Arthur she had been entitled, and of this sum, amounting to five thousand pounds a year, so considerable a portion was withheld, that sufficient remained not to defray the expenses of her limited establishment, though conducted on the most economical system; thus poverty was added to the other ills heaped on the defenceless head of this illustrious lady, who had been tempted by offers of wealth, if she would abandon her rights and consent to her own and her daughter's degradation. This poverty fell on her, too, when, with ruined health, she stood most in need of the many comforts necessary to soothe, though they could not mitigate, disease.

Feeling the hand of death fast approaching, Katharine entreated to behold her daughter once more, that she might bless her before she died; but this last request was denied, and another drop was added to the cup of bitterness already nearly filled to overflowing, which she had been doomed by her brutal husband to drain. Yet she had the satisfaction of one true friend by her bed-side during her last hours. This was Lady Willoughby d'Eresby. This lady was one of the maids of honour who had accompanied her from Spain, and had married Lord Willoughby. Hearing of the approaching end of her beloved mistress and countrywoman, she made her way to Kimbolton, and reaching it, at night-fall on New Year's day, half-frozen with cold, she had the

address to make her way to the queen, in spite of the opposition of the Keepers Chamberlayne and Bedingfield, and never quitted her till she expired. A few hours before death had ended her sorrows, and when her dying hand could no longer hold a pen, she dictated the following farewell to Henry :—

"My most dear lord, king, and husband,—The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose, but out of the love I bear you, to advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all ; and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have hitherto desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three ; and to all my other servants a year's pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. Farewell."

Henry is said to have wept when he perused this letter.

Katharine expired on the 18th of January, 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age, and was interred in the monastery at Peterborough, which, in honour of her memory, Henry caused to be preserved when he doomed others to destruction, and erected it into a bishop's see.

The chamber in Kimbolton Castle where Katharine expired is still shown. It is hung with tapestry, which covers the door leading to the closet. One of her travelling-trunks, also covered with scarlet velvet, and bearing on its lid the initials "K. R." with the crown, is still there.

Katharine of Arragon, the courtly daughter of the great Isabella of Spain, has left a name inferior to none in the English annals of female royalty. There was a queenly dignity and a womanly piety about her that forced even her most deadly enemies to respect her. Her masculine abilities, and her lofty and assured temperament, set at defiance all the arts of her savage husband, and of the subtle tools he had around him. The pride of Wolsey quailed before her genuine majesty, and the sanguinary fury of Henry the Eighth was kept at bay. She was regarded by the nation in which she was a persecuted stranger, with the deepest sentiments of respect and affection. Not a stain was any one able to find on her reputation, and the fine portrait which Shakspeare has drawn of her in his Henry the Eighth is as just as it is an enduring monument of her "rare qualities" and "true nobility."

ANNE BOLEYN,

SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH

ANNE BOLEYN was the second daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards created Viscount Rochford, and of the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the celebrated Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk; and, according to Sir Henry Spelman, was born at Blickling-Hall, in Norfolk. If the family of Boleyn were not originally among the ancient nobility of England, they intermarried into some of the highest of that class; for the grandfather of Anne, Sir William, married the co-heiress of the last Earl of Ormonde, who brought him vast possessions, so that on the maternal side, at least, for two or three generations, Anne could claim alliance with some of the noblest houses in the land. The title of Rochford, which appertained to the family of Ormonde, was revived in Sir Thomas Boleyn, as were subsequently the titles of Ormonde and Wiltshire.

Great doubts exist as to the precise age of Anne Boleyn when she left England in the suite of the Princess Mary, sister of Henry the Eighth, when that princess proceeded to the solemnisation of her nuptials with Louis the Twelfth of France. Several historians assert that Anne was then only in the seventh year of her age; but this can hardly be true, for what position could a female child fill in that courtly train? After the death of Louis the Twelfth, which occurred in the February following his nuptials, and the marriage of his widowed queen with Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, Anne Boleyn did not return with her, but remained in France for the completion of her education, and after some time is said to have entered the service of the queen of Francis the First, in which it is asserted by Camden, that she not only remained until the death of that queen, which occurred in 1521, but subsequently accepted the protection of the Duchess d'Alençon, sister to Francis the First, and afterwards Queen of Navarre, so celebrated for her wit. If she returned to England on the death of the Queen



Claud in 1524, she must have been in her twenty-third year, for she appears, by the most probable account, to have been born in 1501 ; and such a fascinating person as Anne is represented to have been must have proved a dangerous temptation to a monarch who was not prone to resist the attractions of youth and beauty, as witness his love for the fair wife of Sir Gilbert Talbois, governor of Calais. If, however, she only returned to England in 1527 with her father, who was sent to France in September of that year, to conclude the treaty agreed on the previous April, then was she blameless of the accusation of being the cause of first suggesting the divorce, as it is well known that Henry had adopted the resolution of seeking it before Anne's father had brought her back to England. The true time of her first return to England, it will, however, be seen, was late in 1521, or early in 1522, as the order for her recall by Henry was signed in November, 1521. It was now that Henry saw her, and made his advances to her. But, as suggested by Burnet, there is every reason to believe that she again went to France, entered the service of Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, and returned finally to England with her father, when recalled from a diplomatic mission to the French court, in 1527. This, in fact, reconciles the conflicting dates of different writers. One thing, however, is clear, which is, that if Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn was not the cause of his first desiring a divorce from Queen Katharine, it is quite certain that it urged him to pursue it with a zeal and obstinacy that he might never have employed, had he not loved her. As to his alleged excuse for repudiating Katharine, namely, scruples of conscience, his after-conduct furnished too many and too positive examples that his was not a conscience to be troubled by scruples. Henry was probably led to desire a divorce because he was tired of a wife whose gravity reminded him that she was some years his senior, and by whom he despaired of having a male heir to his crown, long the object of his anxious desire. It is probable that had the two sons whom Katharine presented him with lived, he would have contented himself with being an unfaithful husband, without breaking the bond that united him to the mother of his children.

The descriptions of Anne Boleyn, handed down to posterity by her contemporaries, prove that she must have been indeed a very attractive person ; and although the well-known passion entertained for her by Wyatt may lead us to suppose that his description of her charms partakes the exaggeration of the lover as well as of the poet, the more sober one of Chateaubriant, and the less flattering one of Sanders,

convey an impression very favourable to her personal appearance. Even with less attractions than "a stature tall and slender, an oval face, black hair, beauty and sprightliness hovering on her lips, in readiness for repartee, skill in the dance and in playing on the lute," and, though last not least, a rare and judicious taste in dress, which led to her being "the glass of fashion" by which all her companions wished to attire themselves, Anne must have been very captivating. Naturally lively and witty, with an uncommon facility in acquiring whatever was taught her, Anne Boleyn must have greatly profited by her abode with the clever and brilliant Duchess d'Alençon, whose fascination of manner and sprightly conversation were so universally acknowledged by her contemporaries. But while acquiring accomplishments, and the art of pleasing, with the beloved sister of Francis the First, it is but too probable that the moral principles of Anne were little cultivated, and that to her *séjour* beneath Marguerite's roof she owed the vivacity and levity, often passing the bounds of strict propriety, with which she was in after-years charged, and which furnished weapons to wound her. These peculiarities, which probably formed her greatest attractions in the eyes of Henry when she first won his selfish heart, became sins of deep die when, sated with her charms, he sought to hurl her from the giddy height to which he had raised her. During her residence in France, although greatly admired, the reputation of Anne Boleyn was never assailed, and she returned to England free in heart, and spotless in character.

Lord Herbert and others, among whom was Fiddes, state that Anne continued to dwell with the Duchess d'Alençon until some difference grew between Henry and Francis, which caused the English students to be recalled to their own country, at which time she also returned to her family. Fiddes adds, that Francis the First complained to the English ambassador "that the English scholars and the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn had returned home."

It is known that Anne's return was advised by the king, for the purpose of arranging a marriage between her and Sir Piers Butler, the heir of him who contested the inheritance of Anne's great-grandfather, the last Earl of Wiltshire, this union being considered the best mode of stopping all vexatious suits between the contending parties. Strange are the freaks of fortune, which shape the destinies of men—nay more, sometimes make themselves the instruments to work out her will! When Henry recalled Anne Boleyn to wed another, he little thought he was bringing back a future wife for himself. It

appears that the order for her recall was given late in the year 1521, which would fix the date of her return, as we have already observed, to 1522. She soon afterwards was appointed one of the maids of honour to Queen Katharine, little dreaming that she was to supplant her royal mistress. To the sober court of this virtuous lady Anne Boleyn transported not only the fashion in dress, but all the wiles and graces which she had acquired in the gay circles of the bewitching Marguerite. Her presence excited great admiration; her musical skill, sweet voice, and piquant manners still more; while her sprightliness and uncontrolled (if not uncontrollable) vivacity drew around her many admirers, among whom to one only did she accord encouragement; this one was Henry, Lord Percy, the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, and, like herself, contracted by his father to form a marriage based not on affection, but interest. This double engagement was forgotten on both sides in the delirium of a first love; or, if remembered, this hindrance only served to increase, as obstacles generally do, the passion of the youthful pair.

Henry had no sooner discovered the mutual love of the young pair than he commanded Cardinal Wolsey to take immediate steps to break the engagement between them, artfully giving, as an excuse for his angry interference, the arrangements previously made for the marriage of both parties with persons selected by their respective families. Whether the cardinal, who was as expert in discovering the secret feelings and thoughts of others as in concealing his own, divined those of his self-willed sovereign or not, we have no evidence to prove; but, entrusted with the command to separate the lovers, he vigorously carried it into immediate execution, to the grief and dismay of Anne Boleyn and Percy. The rudeness and tyranny of Wolsey's treatment of Percy, during their interview on this occasion, offers a striking proof of his natural insolence and brutality, which not even his elevation and long contact with a court could subdue. The young man was reproached and insulted with all the contumely with which a *parvenu* loves to visit those of high birth whenever chance gives him the power; and, unfortunately for Anne, although of an honourable mind and good intentions, Percy had not sufficient moral courage to resist the tyranny so unjustly exercised over him.

That Percy, however fondly attached to Anne Boleyn, yielded implicit obedience to his stern father's commands, is proved by his marriage with the Lady Mary Talbot, the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1523; which confirms the belief that Anne Boleyn returned to England in the previous year.

Anne's was not a nature to forgive or forget injuries speedily. Unsuspicious of the real motive of her separation from the object of her affection, she believed it originated wholly in the malice and love of interference of the cardinal, and by the extent of her displeasure against him may be judged the warmth and sincerity of her love for Percy, and the bitterness of her disappointment for his loss. But time, that best soother of regret, in due season softened, if it did not eradicate, hers; and Henry, who probably found a longer absence from her insupportable, surprised the family at Hever by a visit, without, however, beholding her for whom it was undertaken; for Anne, either through wounded pride or maidenly reserve, confined herself to her chamber, nor left it until he had departed: nor did her father wish her to see Henry, otherwise he would have commanded her presence. This conduct on the part of father and daughter indicated a desire to avoid, rather than to encourage, the royal visitor, and probably piqued him more to pursue his object than a kind welcome might have done, it being a peculiar characteristic in the self-willed and obstinate to be incited into persistence by opposition. At all events, this avoidance of Henry by Anne proves that she held out no lures to attract him, and is honourable to her father.

Some time elapsed before the king again presumed to visit Hever. The first visit had taught him that the conquest he meditated could not be as easily achieved as he had expected, and he set to work to conciliate both father and daughter, by showering favours on the first, hitherto held back, though well merited by the services of Sir Thomas Boleyn, until his newly-formed passion for his fair daughter inspired him with the desire of cultivating the good-will of the family for his own selfish and dishonourable aims. Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford, and appointed treasurer of the royal household; and Sir William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, the elder sister of Anne, was made gentleman of the privy chamber.

Some months elapsed before Anne Boleyn was recalled to court, and it does not appear that even then she entertained any notion of the king's attachment towards her. Nor, if she had, would it have either surprised or alarmed her; for such were the freedoms allowed in those times, that what in ours are termed flirtations, and censured, were then considered harmless, and tacitly permitted, if not approved in society.

She had not long returned to court, when Henry presented her with a costly jewel, to which gift she attached so little importance, it being then a common custom to make similar ones, that she wore it without

any reserve or fear of misconstruction. Emboldened by her gaily of manner, Henry some time after avowed his flame, the confession of which, far from meeting encouragement from its object, excited her anger and indignation; nor was it until after many apologies, and entreaties for pardon, that he was forgiven. It was on this occasion that Anne is said to have told him, in the words used by the Lady Elizabeth Grey, that "she was too good to be a king's mistress." From that moment, unaccustomed to resist the impulse of his ill-regulated passions, Henry determined to remove all obstacles to the indulgence of that which bound him to the fascinating Anne Boleyn, and pursued the necessary steps to procure a divorce from Katharine with increased vigour.

Henceforth he addressed Anne with more respectful homage; and now, for the first time, ambition, hitherto dormant in her breast, or lulled to sleep by her deep affection for Percy, awoke, as the brilliant prospect of ascending a throne was opened to her by her sovereign.

Among the persons whose society Anne Boleyn preferred, were the celebrated Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and her own brother, Lord Rochford, three men whose literary acquirements, refined taste, and elegance of manner were remarkable at a period when these qualifications were far from being general. They, too, took especial delight in her company, and encouraged her in her taste for literature.

Conversing with her one day while she worked, Wyatt playfully snatched from her a jewelled tablet which hung by a lace from her pocket, and suspending it round his neck, beneath his dress, refused to return it, though repeatedly pressed to do so by her. Henry remarking that Wyatt frequently hovered around Anne, and feeling somewhat jealous of him, entreated her to give him a ring, which he wore on his little finger, intending on the first occasion by displaying it to Wyatt to make him sensible of Anne's preference to himself. Playing at bowls shortly after with several nobles and gentlemen, among whom was Wyatt, Henry affirmed a cast to be his, which the others declared not to be so; he, pointing with the finger on which was the ring, repeatedly addressing himself to Wyatt, said, "I tell thee, Wyatt, it is *mine*," laying a peculiar emphasis on the word *mine*. Wyatt recognising the ring, took the jewelled tablet from his breast, and holding the lace by which it was suspended in his hand, replied, "If it may please your majesty to give me leave to measure it with this lace, I hope it will be *mine*," and he stooped down to measure the cast. The king recognising the tablet, having frequently noticed it in Anne Boleyn's

possession, angrily spurned away the bowls, and exclaimed, "It may be so—but then I am deceived!"¹ and broke up the game. He then hastened to the lady of his love, to whom he revealed his suspicions, which she quickly dissipated by declaring the truth, and Henry became more in love with her than ever, in consequence of the jealous pangs he had for a brief interval endured.

From this time Henry kept up a correspondence with Anne, some of the letters of which still remain in the "Harleian Miscellany;" but several were purloined and taken to Rome, where they were lodged in the Vatican. The motive for the theft of the letters taken to Rome may be easily accounted for by the desire of some one of the papal emissaries to possess aught which could prove that the urgency of Henry to expedite the divorce originated in his passion for some object, to the indulgence of which his marriage with Katharine opposed an obstacle. This fact he and his advisers were peculiarly anxious should be carefully kept concealed from the pope, whom it was Henry's interest to make believe that scruples of conscience only actuated him in his desire to repudiate the queen. The letters were in French, and breathe a fervour and tenderness of feeling hardly to be anticipated from such a character.

For a longer period than so subtle a man and so keen an observer could be supposed to remain ignorant of a circumstance which so nearly concerned his sovereign, and the result of which might have a great influence over his own interest, Cardinal Wolsey was not aware that his master's intentions towards Anne Boleyn were more serious than a mere fleeting fancy, that would pass away when crowned with success. When the cardinal returned from his embassy to France, whither he had been sent to conciliate a friendship between Francis the First and Henry, as well as to propose a marriage between the Duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis, and the Princess Mary, the surprise could only be equalled by the alarm he experienced, when Henry revealed his matrimonial engagement with Anne Boleyn. Aware that to attempt to shake the king's resolve on this point would not only be utterly useless, but would inevitably draw on himself the displeasure of his sovereign, he concealed his feelings, and determined, by delaying as long as he possibly could the proceedings for the divorce, to give Henry time to be weaned from Anne Boleyn before its accomplishment; counting on the natural fickleness and caprice of his master for the probability of this result.

¹ Extracts from the "*Life of Anne Boleyn*," by George Wyatt, Esq., p. 7, printed in Cavendish's "*Life of Cardinal Wolsey*," p. 427.

Cardinal Wolsey felt a peculiar repugnance to Anne Boleyn. Whether it originated in having observed certain demonstrations of dislike on her part, occasioned by the recollection of his having broken off her engagement with Percy, the only man she ever really loved, or that his suspicions of her disposition towards the tenets of Luther had been excited, has never been proved ; but certain it is, that Henry's choice of a wife among all his subjects could not have fallen on any one so objectionable to the cardinal as Anne. Yet, when he believed that Henry's views were directed to her in a dishonourable way, Wolsey, forgetful of the conduct it behoved his sacred profession to pursue, in direct violation of all morality and decency, encouraged the attachment, and gave fêtes expressly to afford opportunities for Henry and Anne to meet.

The decorum of Anne's conduct for a long time prevented the queen from discovering that her husband's desire to divorce her did not originate wholly in the scruples of conscience which he affected to feel on the subject, or, at least, that another motive urged him more impatiently to accomplish it. At a splendid entertainment given to the French ambassador at Greenwich, the homage offered by Henry to Anne was so openly displayed, that it excited general remark, and led to Katharine's discovery of the truth. The reproaches of the indignant queen awakened no remorse in the self-willed and selfish Henry, who only became more anxious to break the bond that still united him to an injured woman, whose presence had grown odious to him. It had been noticed that ever since Katharine had first heard that a divorce was contemplated, she had taken more pains in her dress, and had assumed a gaiety and love of pleasure always foreign to her nature, but now peculiarly so, when her heart was wounded in its tenderest affections, and her mind tormented by all the feelings of jealousy and fear. This was the last effort of a despairing but still loving wife to win back her husband, by adopting the light pleasures he enjoyed. She even encouraged music and dancing, and mingled in scenes of festivity ill-suited to her sober tastes and tortured heart. But vain were the attempts to please and conciliate him who looked for happiness in another's eyes ! The grave and stately Katharine, formed to inspire respect, could ill compete with the young and fascinating Anne Boleyn, whose smiles and graces won admiration and created love. If all beholders were ready to acknowledge the contrast between the *past* and present possessor of Henry's affection, how much more powerful did *he* feel it ! The very attempt of Katharine to please and lure him back, offended and disgusted him ; and his time-

serving courtiers, seeing his increasing dislike to his unhappy queen, and growing passion for her rival, transferred to Anne Boleyn the obsequious demonstrations of respect which they had previously paid to Katharine. The great mass of the people, however, swerved not from their allegiance to their queen, and so strongly manifested their dissatisfaction at the neglect and injustice which she experienced, that it was found expedient that Anne should leave the court for a time. How impatiently she submitted to this step was proved not only by her angry declaration when it occurred, "that she would return no more," but by the sullen silence which she maintained, not deigning to return any answers to the loving and submissive letters addressed to her by Henry during the two months she remained in the country. The humiliation of her compelled absence from the court so offended the pride of Anne, that to soothe her, a magnificent residence was prepared for her in London; but even with this peace-offering she long resisted the pressing requests of the king and the commands of her father, ere she consented to return to court. The mansion provided for her was Suffolk House, on which Henry expended a large sum, to prepare it for her reception. So impatient was her royal lover for her arrival, that he wrote to urge her to abridge by two days the time named for that event. When Cardinal Wolsey busied himself in procuring this dwelling for Anne, which was near York House, his own abode, and probably selected because of its convenience for Henry's constant visits to her, he little anticipated that he was preparing the way for the final loss of that stately pile, which he lent to the king on the occasion, but of which Henry ever after kept possession.

While Anne Boleyn was impatiently anticipating the divorce which was to enable her to ascend the throne she so ardently longed to share, the disease known by the name of "sweating sickness" broke out, and caused universal alarm in the court. Henry, who had only just completed his pedantic treatise on the illegality of his marriage with Katharine, a production of which he was not a little vain, making no slight merit to Anne of the labour which it cost him, was struck with such superstitious dread by this alarming epidemic, that he consented to the representations of Wolsey to send Anne to her father's seat in Kent. To her he pretended that this step was taken in order to preserve her from infection, while in truth it was the result of his own superstitious fears, as was proved by his effecting a reconciliation with his queen, his belief in her sanctity leading him to think that near her he would be safe.

Anne did not escape the dangerous malady then raging with such fury. It assailed her a month after she arrived in Kent, and for some time her life was in danger, and Henry in the utmost alarm. He sent his own physician to attend her, and visited her himself soon after her convalescence. It was probably during this visit that the joint letter supposed to be addressed by Anne and Henry to the Cardinal Wolsey was written, but which letter, in a mutilated form, we find given in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters* as being written by Queen Katharine and Henry.

Once established in Suffolk House, the open court paid to her by her enamoured sovereign and his courtiers, left no doubt on the minds of all those who witnessed it, that her position was of a most compromising nature. Scandal, ever ready to judge by appearances, blazoned forth the imagined culpability of Anne, who must have consoled herself for present humiliation by the anticipation of future dignity and grandeur, when the homage then offered to her would be justified by her elevation to the throne. It was not alone in England that intelligence of her position at court was circulated. The ambassadors from foreign courts reported it to their own, and Anne's reputation was the sacrifice paid for her premature assumption of the queenly state, to which she hoped soon to have a right.

The forbearance of Queen Katharine, under the trials to which she was exposed, was remarkable. It was only on one occasion, as before related, that she is said to have betrayed her consciousness that in Anne Boleyn she had a rival. Playing at cards with Anne, there was a rule in the game that in dealing the cards the dealer should stop on turning up a king or queen. It happened that Anne had repeatedly turned up a king, which Katharine remarking, exclaimed, "My Lady Anne, you have good luck to stop at a king: but you are not like others; you will have all or none."

The opportunities afforded to Henry of seeing the object of his passion continually, owing to the contiguity of Suffolk House to York House, only served to increase his affection. Few ever possessed in a more eminent degree the powers of fascination than did Anne Boleyn, and now determined to reap the reward of so many humiliations, it may easily be supposed that she put them all in practice, to secure the heart of her lover, who, impatient to call her his, waited not for their marriage to justify her claim to the honours rendered to royalty, but exacted from his courtiers the same observances and etiquette for her that were paid to the queen. Anne held her *levées*, which were

far more numerous, attended than those of Katharine. She had her ladies in waiting, her trumpeter, and her chaplains; and dispensed patronage in church and state.

The delays of the proceedings in the divorce, annoying as they were to Henry, were still more so to Anne, who, anxious to be extricated from the false position in which she found herself, impatiently longed for its termination, and possessing an extreme quickness of apprehension, rightly divined that Cardinal Wolsey, however he might outwardly affect to desire its completion, was more disposed to lengthen than expedite the proceedings. This well-founded suspicion revived in her breast her old dislike to Wolsey, a dislike which only slumbered, but was not dead. She urged the king to send Gardiner to Rome a second time, to plead for the divorce, and from that period may be dated her firm intention to destroy Wolsey's influence with the king. Other circumstances subsequently occurred to increase her dislike to the all-powerful minister. It chanced that a book, highly estimated by Anne, and said to be no other than Tindal's translation of the Holy Scriptures, but lately completed, had been taken from her chamber by one of her ladies, who was engaged in its perusal, when a suitor of hers snatched it from her, and took it with him to the king's chapel. Its contents so wholly engrossed his attention, that he was unmindful when the service concluded, and continued to read on, which so much excited the curiosity of the dean of the chapel that he requested the young gentleman to give him a sight of the book, when, finding it to be the forbidden translation of the Scriptures, he carried it to Cardinal Wolsey. Anne Boleyn having missed the volume, was told the truth, and instantly sent for the young gentleman, who having related the affair, she lost not a moment in seeking the king, and entreating him for the restoration of her valued treasure. He effected this, and, at her request, perused the volume, to which is attributed the great change in his opinions which followed.

Anne, now determined to effect the ruin of him whom she believed to be her secret enemy, was enabled to furnish such proofs of the cardinal's duplicity to the king as could not be refuted, which she accomplished by showing Henry certain letters from Wolsey to Rome, establishing the fact of his playing false to his master. Nevertheless, Henry did not abandon his old favourite without reluctance, and more than once betrayed such indecision on this point, that it may be surmised he would not have totally cast him off, had not the vast pecuniary advantages certain to accrue to himself by such a measure urged

him on. Anne's pertinacity to banish Wolsey never subsided. She watched every symptom of returning pity in Henry, and by repeating everything disadvantageous to the cardinal which she could learn, kept up in his mind the displeasure which she had originally excited, until she extorted a promise from the king that he would see Wolsey no more.

The bills found against the cardinal for the abuse of his power while in office were, it is said, the result of Anne Boleyn's unceasing efforts to ruin him; and so conscious had the fallen favourite become of this, that he left no means untried to gain her intercession with the king for the mitigation of his punishment. The pity shown by Henry when he learned the dangerous illness of the cardinal, some months after, proves that his heart was not always inaccessible to gentler feelings than those which generally marked his rugged and selfish nature; for he not only sent him a ring, in token of his good-will, but instructed Anne Boleyn to send with it some mark of hers.

The fallen Wolsey would have escaped much humiliation had he then died; for the returning good-will and clemency of the king were but of brief duration, and his recovery to something like health was soon followed by his arrest for high treason. It was no slight aggravation to his chagrin, that to the Earl of Northumberland was consigned the warrant for his arrest; and that nobleman, not forgetting that the cardinal had been instrumental in destroying the happiness of his life, trembled violently with the agitation of his feelings, and treated Wolsey very ignominiously, causing his legs to be bound to the stirrups of his mule, like a common malefactor.

It was only at the end of a month's imprisonment, and an acknowledgment of being guilty of *premunire*, that Wolsey obtained his liberty, after having, through the medium of Cromwell, humbly but vainly solicited the aid of Anne Boleyn in his favour with the king. What must have been the secret rage of the cardinal at being compelled to sue, and sue in vain, to her whom, however he might have flattered, he in his heart despised. Having enriched the royal coffers with his possessions, Henry, as a favour, permitted Wolsey to retire to his see at York with an income of four thousand pounds a-year, which to him, who had so long enjoyed a princely revenue, seemed little short of poverty—a striking example of the vicissitude of fortune and the instability of royal favour. Just five-and-twenty days after his arrest, the fallen cardinal breathed his last. The vengeance of an injured woman was sated by his ruin and his death.

It was probably the interviews sought by Cromwell with Anne, to solicit her pity for the cardinal, that established a confidence and goodwill on her part towards him, which finally led to the accomplishment of the object for the attainment of which she had so long pined. A friend faithful in adversity to the fallen favourite of a powerful and despotic sovereign is unfortunately for humanity, a character as rare as it is respectable, and must have impressed Anne strongly in Cromwell's favour, even while she declined the suit he urged. Whatever was the origin of Cromwell's interest in Anne, certain it is that he rendered her efficient service when, notwithstanding the king's passion for her, she stood in the greatest need of some aid to strengthen his wavering mind. The divorce still desired, and the efforts to obtain it now universally known all over the continent, were opposed by all professing the Roman Catholic faith. Nor were the reformers less inimical to it. It is a curious circumstance, that for once, and only once the pope and his most dangerous opponent, Luther, agreed in thinking it better that Henry the Eighth should be permitted to have *two* wives, than to divorce one—in opinion which did not satisfy any of the three individuals most interested in the affair.

Henry alarmed at the untiring opposition offered to his wishes on every side, might probably have abandoned the project, had not Cromwell's courageous suggestion of freeing England from the papal rule opened a way to the enamoured monarch for arriving at the final accomplishment of his wishes. The first step taken on the new and tortuous path Henry was now entering was the expulsion of the queen from Windsor, and the establishment of her rival in her place, which step was followed, in four or five months, by her being created Marchioness of Pembroke, the first instance of the creation of a female peer. No state nor ceremony was omitted to confer solemnity on this act, it took place in Windsor Castle, in presence of the king and a vast train of the highest lords and ladies in the land, among whom were those of the relations of Anne most likely to add splendour to the ceremony. The choice of the title proves Henry's desire to confer more than ordinary honour on his beloved mistress, for it had last belonged to the uncle of the king, and with it he granted her and her heirs precedence over all other ladies of similar rank in the kingdom, notwithstanding that there were then two marchionesses standing in near relationship with the royal family.

From this period the king was accompanied by the newly made marchioness wherever he went, and shortly after he caused to be made

known to Francis the First, through the medium of the French ambassador then in England, his desire that Anne should be invited to go with him to the approaching congress to be held at Calais. The passage in the ambassador's letter to his master Francis the First, which refers to this point, is curious. "If our sovereign," writes Bellai, "wishes to gratify the King of England, he can do nothing better than invite Madame Anne with him to Calais, and entertain her there with great respect."

We are led to conclude that this intimation from his ambassador was not neglected by Francis the First; for in the October following, Anne, attended by the Marchioness of Derby and a retinue of other noble ladies, embarked for Calais with the king, whence, in a week after, they proceeded with great splendour to Boulogne, to meet the French king, where they were entertained in a princely style by that monarch during the few days they remained there. Francis accompanied Henry and Anne back to Calais, where Henry, determined not to be outdone in magnificence, and also to give *éclat* to his future bride, exhibited a splendour never before witnessed in Europe, if we may credit the accounts given by the historians who have described them. At a masque which followed the supper given by Henry to Francis and his court on the Sunday evening, 28th of October, the Marchioness of Pembroke, Anne Boleyn, with seven ladies, in masking apparel of strange fashion, made of cloth of gold, slashed with crimson tinsel satin, puffed with cloth of silver, and knit with laces of gold, entered the state chamber. Then the Lady Marchioness took the French king, the Countess of Derby the King of Navarre, and every lady took a lord. In dancing, King Henry removed the ladies' vizors, so that their beauties were shown. The French king then discovered that he had danced with an old acquaintance, the lovely English maid of honour of his first queen, for whose departure he had chidden the English ambassador ten years before. He conversed with her some little time apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at fifteen thousand crowns.

It is asserted that Francis the First, from private motives, encouraged Henry to follow his own inclination to wed Anne Boleyn, without waiting any longer for the divorce, and that Henry, soon after his return to England, adopted this advice. It has been said that the nuptials were privately celebrated at Dover, on the king's arrival there; while other authorities state them to have taken place in Norfolk. The strict secrecy observed proves how much Henry dreaded the

unpopularity the measure was calculated to create, but which he risked for the gratification of a passion which he had not the self-control to subdue. Sir Thomas Wyatt, as well as other historians, declare that the ceremony was privately celebrated January 25th, 1532-3, by Dr. Lee, in the presence of the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire, and other witnesses. Anne was now about thirty-one years of age. Henry felt the necessity of boldly pushing forward measures for the pronouncement of the divorce, and, in consequence, an assembly of the episcopal court was convened, to which Katharine was again cited, and on not answering, she was declared contumacious, and the sentence of divorce was pronounced by Cranmer. The following Easter, on April the 12th, the marriage was again solemnised between the King and Anne, but this time publicly, the position of the new queen rendering such a measure necessary, she being pregnant; and immediately after, a proclamation for the coronation of Anne was issued. Letters were sent to the proper legal authorities, directing them to conduct the new queen, with all accustomed ceremonies, from Greenwich to the Tower, and "to see the city garnished with pageants, according to ancient custom, for her reception"

The preface to the regal festival, namely, the conducting the queen from Greenwich to the Tower, presented one of the most brilliant sights ever beheld in England, and well calculated to enlist the patriotic sympathies of the nation at large, by exhibiting the splendour of the civic fleet, of which all were proud. "The queen embarked at Greenwich in a state barge, escorted by no less than fifty barges, with awnings of cloth of gold or silk, emblazoned with the arms of England, and ornamented with various curious devices, among which the queen's appropriate one of a falcon was eminently conspicuous. The lord mayor's barge was next to the royal one, in which, superbly attired in cloth of gold, sat Anne, surrounded by her ladies. A hundred barges belonging to the nobility followed, magnificently ornamented with silk or cloth of gold, gliding on in harmonious order and to measured strains of music. The river was covered with boats; the shores were lined with spectators; and it might be supposed that London was deserted of its inhabitants, but for the innumerable multitudes collected near the Tower, to witness the queen's disembarkation."

On the following day, Anne was conveyed in a litter through the streets of the metropolis, attended by a brilliant procession, and attired in a style of regal splendour that lent new charms to her person; and on Whit-Sunday the ceremony of her coronation closed.

In her uncle, the proud Duke of Norfolk, the queen had a secret enemy ; for, a firm supporter of the ancient faith, he looked with aversion on her who was accused of leading to its subversion, and eyed with bitter jealousy her father and brother, whose influence over her he knew to be great. He likewise was enraged that the choice of Henry had not fallen on his own daughter, the fair Lady Mary Howard, instead of on his niece ; and thus discontented, and bent on injuring those he envied, he formed an intimacy with one whose enmities were as stubborn and implacable as his own, urged on by a bigotry still greater. This ally was no other than Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a man more desirous of gratifying his own ambitious views, than fastidious as to the means to be employed for carrying them into effect. The Earl of Wiltshire, who had looked for greater aggrandisement when he became the father-in-law of the king, was dissatisfied that his expectations had not been realised, and thought that his daughter might have accomplished this point ; so that in only one branch of her family could Anne hope for sympathy and affection, notwithstanding that she had done all in her power to forward the interests of all. The branch to which we refer was the Lord Rochford, her brother, no less endeared to her by the ties of consanguinity than by a congeniality of tastes and pursuits. Lord Rochford, the friend and companion of the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, possessed, like them, a refinement of taste and manners, and a talent for as well as a love of literature, which rendered his society peculiarly agreeable to Anne. In his fraternal heart all her thoughts and cares were reposed, and in this dear brother she found her truest friend. He had wedded a woman utterly unsuited to him, and who, instead of correcting the evil qualities which rendered her so distasteful to her husband, resented with bitter hate the indifference he could not conceal. The affection between the brother and sister—an affection in which only a base and depraved mind could dream of evil—excited a rage and jealousy in her breast which only required an opportunity to blaze forth into a destructive flame. This bad woman, in right of her connexion with the queen, was suffered to be near her at court, as was also the Lady Edward Boleyn, the wife of her uncle, although both these ladies had always been peculiarly disagreeable to Anne.

Whatever might have been the levity and love of pleasure attributed to Anne previously to her ascending the throne, it was allowed by all who approached her afterwards, that her bearing and manners had become as dignified and decorous as could be wished, although free

from any assumption of undue pride, which would only have reminded her subjects that she had not always been so dignified

Anne's successful interference with the king to protect Latimer, drew on her the ill-will of all opposed to the reform, among whom he had once been a zealous advocate against innovation, and who, consequently, became his bitterest enemies when he adopted the new faith. Latimer's counsels helped to establish the change that had already taken place in Anne's sentiments, she had soon found how far short fell the reality of gratified pride and ambition from the notions she had formed of them, and felt how little happiness their possession could confer. She became grave and thoughtful, and the alteration well accorded with her new position. Her charities were extensive and judicious, yet so unostentatious, that their amount surprised many when, long after, the truth was made known.

Although most desirous of a son, Henry bore the disappointment of his hopes better than could have been anticipated, and welcomed the infant Elizabeth with fatherly affection, if not with joy, acknowledging her to be presumptive heiress to the crown, and as such to be treated. With so much cause for satisfaction, much existed to remind Anne that happiness is not long a guest on earth. Circumstances occasionally occurred which pained and mortified her, and from which not even the power of the sovereign could protect her. The imprudence of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Bocking, furnished an occasion of chagrin to the queen, by her witnessing the sympathy it excited for her predecessor Katharine, and, although exposure and heavy punishment awaited the instigators or encouragers of the nun's delusion, its effect on the minds of the people did not easily subside. How painful is it to reflect that the great Sir Thomas More, however strongly he denied all participation in this pious fraud, never wholly exculpated himself from the charge; and that Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was the dupe and martyr of this artful and wicked woman! The death of those people, however, was, it must be recollected, owing to their conscientious opposition to the unjust act of Henry in favour of Anne Boleyn's issue, and to the exclusion of the Princess Mary, who was, moreover, branded by it with illegitimacy.

Nor can we acquit Anne, after her marriage, of her jealousy of the general consideration accorded to Katharine, and her want of kindness to the Princess Mary. For this last unwomanly conduct, so much at variance with her whole life, we can find no excuse, unless it be the unworthy one of striving to bring forward the Princess Mary, lest

it should remind the people more strongly of her claims, and of the injuries inflicted on her mother. The severities practised against those who refused to take the oath of the king's supremacy and to the new act of succession, denying the legality of the king's marriage with Katharine, and, consequently, the legitimacy of her daughter, kept alive an unpopularity for Anne, which gave great pain to her, one of whose weaknesses, if it might so be called, consisted in a warm desire to be loved by the people : but, when More and Fisher were among the victims for their conscientious refusals to take this oath, the esteem in which they were universally held created the strongest prejudice against her, for whose interest this act of supremacy and succession was passed.

When the account of Sir Thomas More's execution was brought to Henry, he was playing at tables with Anne, and, casting his eyes upon her, he said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death!" and, rising, he left his unfinished game, and shut himself up in his chamber in great perturbation.

About this time died Katharine of Arragon, at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire ; and the indecent satisfaction of Queen Anne on this event did not increase the good-will of her subjects. The persistance of Katharine in retaining the title of Queen, after the sentence of divorce, which greatly enraged Henry, must have been the cause of Anne's satisfaction at her death, for then she felt she was indeed the sole queen in England. Nevertheless, it was unwise, as well as unfeeling, to betray pleasure on such an occasion. She dreamt not how soon she would follow to the grave her whose death had gratified her ! and perhaps her joy disgusted Henry, who is said to have shed tears when he perused Katharine's last letter to him.

The consideration and respect shown to Anne by the German reformers, as was proved by the princes of that country, who offered to declare Henry the head and protector of the Smalcalde League, excited the jealousy of the king. He had sought Anne as the toy of his lighter hours, the mistress of his pleasures ; and when he found that she aspired to a higher sphere of action, his tenderness for her soon diminished. He wished her to have no title to admiration, save that reflected from being his queen, and was vexed that the influence she had acquired over him should be so well known, and redound more to her credit than his own. Again Anne gave hopes of becoming a mother, and Henry's tenderness seemed once more to revive, when, unhappily for her, a new beauty caught his eye, and captivated his

fickle heart Nevertheless he still retained the mask of affection for his queen and probably might never have destroyed her, had she not one day surprised him bestowing on her rival Jane Seymour, those caresses which she believed he lavished only on herself while the lady received them with a docility which went far to prove to the jealous queen that a perfectly good understanding must have been for some time established between the lovers Rage and jealousy, amounting almost to phrenzy took possession of the tortured brain of Anne and the effect of these violent passions produced the premature birth of a dead son and led to the imminent danger of her life The disappointment of Henry at this event could only be equalled by his anger, and with the selfishness which ever characterised him he upbraided his suffering wife with a harshness which drew from her the reproach that his infidelity and unkindness had been the cause Stung by this reproof he uttered an oath that she should have no other son by him and left her terrified at the consequence of her own natural but unwise recrimination

The death of Katharine but a short time previously to the reconciliation of Anne had awakened many grave reflections in the mind of Henry He now felt how much wiser it would have been had he patiently waited for that event—a line of conduct which now that his passion for Anne was cooled and a new flame kindled in his heart appeared very easy although he had found it otherwise when he loved her Influenced by his new passion he was anxious to get rid of Anne, in order to wed Jane Seymour, as he had formerly been to free himself from Katharine to wed Anne, but a simple divorce to be obtained by any pretext or false accusation to be brought against her, would not satisfy him because should she survive him—an event more than probable from her being so many years his junior and from his own growing infirmities—she might interfere to prevent the succession of any offspring Jane Seymour might bear him

To prevent the possibility of such a contingency, Anne's life must be sacrificed, and when was the unfeeling and tyrannical Henry ever known to pause in any step that could gratify his own wishes though purchased by the ruin of another? Courtiers are never slow to discover when a change takes place in the feelings of their sovereign or to evince their devotion to him by becoming the enemies of those who no longer enjoy his favour It was soon observed that Jane Seymour had banished Anne Boleyn from Henry's heart and as in the former case, the courtiers turned their adulation to Anne from Katharine so they now

directed it to Jane Seymour from Anne. Among the first to notice the king's estrangement from his queen, was the Lady Rochford, who, hating her sister-in-law with an intensity that triumphed over every womanly feeling, became the ready spy of Henry ; when he, aware of the dislike she entertained for his queen, employed her to watch her movements. The result may be easily anticipated. This base person, now furnished with an opportunity of gratifying her hatred, brought forward a charge against the queen and her brother, of a crime so terrible that only the vilest could imagine, and the most vicious believe. Their frequent interviews, so natural between brother and sister, were made the pleas for a guilt, the bare notion of which never could be contemplated without horror. The improbability of such a charge being credited induced the foes of Anne to prefer other accusations against her, and to name individuals holding appointments in the royal household, as being her paramours.

If Katharine found none to plead in her favour, Anne was less likely to do so ; for having excited the enmity of the catholics by her support of the reformers, and these last being too few in number to give importance to any defence they might wish to offer for her, she found herself unprotected against the machinations put in practice for her ruin ; the known estrangement of her husband having turned her secret foes into open enemies. Yet, though tortured by the pangs of jealousy, Anne exercised sufficient self-control to appear calm and courteous, *in the hope of winning back the affection of her cruel husband, once so devotedly her own.* She could not bring herself to believe that it was irrecoverably lost—that all the love he once bore her, all the hours of happiness they had known—were forgotten for ever ; and while he was concerting plans not only against her honour, but her life, she was decking her face in smiles to please him, and cheating herself with hopes of success. The king convened a parliament, the motive for which was kept a profound secret, except to his private advisers, for the purpose of annulling the act of succession in favour of Anne and her offspring.

Meanwhile, the constant interviews between Henry and Jane Seymour increased his passion for her, and rendered him more impatient to break all obstacles that opposed its gratification. He avoided the society of the queen, and treated her with a marked coldness, most ominous to one who so well knew the implacability of his nature.

The last occasion on which Anne appeared in regal state was at a

tournament held at Greenwich, on the 1st of May ; and it was observed that her beauty, though lately dimmed by care and anxiety, shone forth resplendent. Lord Rochford challenged Norris, and the queen, like all present, looked on with interest at the playful combat, when the king abruptly left the sport, exhibiting an angry aspect, as if displeased by something which he had noticed—a movement which alarmed Anne, and induced her soon after to retire from her place. The cause of the king's anger, or, more probably, the studied plea for it, is said to be this : the queen, either by design or accident, dropped her handkerchief at the feet of Norris, who, being heated in the course, took it up, wiped his face with it, and then handed it to the queen on the point of his lance. It was not until the following day that Anne learned that Lord Rochford, Norris, and two other gentlemen had been arrested and sent to the Tower ; but distressing as was the arrest of her brother, how was her affliction increased, when, after dinner, her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, in whom she knew she had an enemy, with Sir Thomas Audley and some others, entered the room, followed by the governor of the Tower, and revealed to her that she was instantly to depart to that place ! The duke gave the order so rudely, as to indicate that it afforded him more satisfaction than pain. "I am ready to obey the king's pleasure," said Anne, with calmness, though her pallid face announced the effort it cost her to appear tranquil. She waited not to change her dress, but immediately resigned herself to the custody of those who had arrested her, and entered the barge. Her stern and cruel uncle then informed her that denial of her guilt was vain, as her paramours had confessed it ; but she earnestly and passionately declared her innocence, and demanded to see the king. The Duke of Norfolk contemptuously refused credence to her protestations, and his companions, with one exception, followed his example, no longer treating her with respect ; a proof that they well knew she was prejudged. Having reached the Tower, she was confided to the custody of King's and its governor—a man remarkable for his cruelty, and who, having witnessed the disrespectful conduct of the Duke of Norfolk and the other members of the council to his prisoner, was not disposed to treat her better. She inquired whether she was to be shut up in a dungeon. "No, madam," replied he, "but in the same chamber you lodged in before your coronation."

What bitter memories did these words evoke ! and how did her present misery become aggravated by the recollection of her past

splendour and happiness, when she was last a cherished guest in the place now converted to her prison! Well has Dante said—

"Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice,
Nella miseria,"

and deeply did the unhappy queen now experience this wretchedness. "Oh! where is my sweet brother?" inquired Anne, as a flood of tears streamed down her pale cheeks; but Kingston, though not given to pity, could not tell her that Lord Rochford was now in the same prison. "I hear I shall be accused with three men," said the queen; "but if they open my body" (and therewith she opened her gown), "I can but say, Nay, nay. O my mother! thou wilt die for sorrow!"

The agony of her first hour in the Tower was so intense, that even Kingston was moved to pity: but by degrees it subsided into a deep sadness, and she entreated that she might receive the sacrament in a closet adjoining her chamber, and resigned herself to the will of God. The unfortunate queen had still new humiliations to endure; for Henry, with a malice that haunted his victim even to her prison, appointed those of her ladies whom she most disliked to be her attendants there—her aunt, Lady Edward Boleyn, and Mrs. Cosyns. These ladies fully entered into the spirit of the cruel tyrant by whose will they were placed as spies on his unhappy wife. They allowed her no respite from their hated presence, and reported every word she uttered, even while she slept, and in her troubled dreams revealed the terror and grief of her tortured breast. But not satisfied with this inquisitorial espionage, they put the most artful questions to her, in order to inculcate her by her own admissions. Frank and unguarded as Anne's nature was admitted to be, it cannot be believed that to two women whom she disliked she would have made the avowals which these declared, relative to her conversations with Norris—conversations fraught with danger to her.

The reports made to Cromwell by the governor of the Tower were founded on the information given to him by the two female spies, who repeated every word—nay more, commented on every gesture and look of the unhappy prisoner; each and all so wholly at variance with Anne's character and manner, that hatred alone could give credence to such vile tales. Instead of a woman remarkable for talent, education, and refinement—rare advantages in an age like that in which she lived—

and with a quick apprehension of the peculiarities of those around her, and of a ready wit, the conversations of Anne, while in prison, as represented by her spies and gaoler, betray a levity, giddiness, want of feeling for her own terrible position, and a total absence of self-respect and dignity, which accord perfectly with the gossiping style of talk of two uneducated and envious women, like those who reported it, but which are wholly at variance with what might be expected from Anne Boleyn.

The queen's love of music furnished another degrading charge against her, for Smerton, a low born musician, was one of the men with whom she was accused of familiarity, because he had occasionally played on the virginals by her command. Such a charge must have naturally excited the liveliest indignation in the breast of any proud woman, but more especially in one who had worn a crown, yet Anne is reported to have referred to this matter without anger or surprise. That she was fully aware that Lady Edward Boleyn and Mrs Cosyns were placed as spies over her, is proved by her saying that "the king wist what he did when he put such women as those about her." And yet the assertions of these very persons as to what she said have found believers. Of all those who had offered adulation to Anne when she basked in the sunshine of her cruel husband's favour, Cranmer was the only one who attempted to speak in her defence, and Cromwell alone treated her with respect.

Notwithstanding the bitter trials she had endured, there were moments when Anne's heart, touched by the key of memory, opened to hope, and as she retraced the proofs of Henry's past love for her, she could not believe that one who so lately had all but adored her, could will her death. "He does it to try me!" would she say, after one of those deep reveries into which she would sometimes fall, when her present misery seemed but as a troubled dream, from which he would at last awake her. But when her most cruel enemy, Lady Rochford, was deputed by the king to convey a message to Anne, commanding her to make a full confession of her guilt, hope fled from her for ever, and she prepared to meet her fate with dignity. Her last letter to the king was addressed to him soon after her interview with Lady Rochford, and bears reference to it, and, although its being written by Anne has been doubted, she was so unassisted by friends during her imprisonment, that we may well believe in its authenticity, which is also borne out by its being a faithful transcript of her feelings and her wrongs. The dignified tone of this letter refutes the reported

conversations held by Anne in prison with the spies placed over her, and elevates her character

QUEEN ANNE BOLLYN'S LAST LETTER TO KING HENRY

"SIR,—Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient and professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him¹ than I rightly conceived your meaning, and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had a wife more loyal in all duty, and in all affliction, than you have ever found in Anne Bollyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find, for the ground of my preferment being on no surer ground than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me, neither let that stain—that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess, your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges, yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame. Then shall you see either my innocency declared—your suspicion and conscience satisfied—the ignominy and slander of the world stopped—or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so carefully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affliction, already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could, some good while since, have pointed unto, your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that He will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instrument thereof, and that He will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at His general judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocence shall be openly

¹ Who this person was is not known or at least is not stated. Miss Strickland suggests that it must have been the Duke of Suffolk, but we incline to the belief it was Lady Rochford and that the *him* ought to be *her*.

known and sufficiently cleared My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake If ever I have found favour in your sight—if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears—then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in His good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions

"From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May,

"Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN"

If Anne had any legal advisers, which is doubted, she was allowed no advocate, and was denied any intercourse with her friends or parents Every exertion was used, by the king's desire, to obtain additional evidence against her, Smeaton alone having admitted the crime of which he was accused, and the belief of his perjury was general Anne's women were tempted by promises of large reward if they would prove against her, and threatened with heavy punishment if they concealed her guilt, but neither rewards nor menaces could extort any proof of her culpability from them, and even the hateful Lady Rochford could bring no real evidence against her

On the 18th of May the queen and her brother, Lord Rochford, were brought to trial, in a hall within the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk presided, with the Lord Chancellor on his right, and the Duke of Suffolk on his left hand The Earl of Surrey, as Earl Marshal of England, was present, with the Duke of Richmond, and twenty-four other peers The queen entered simply attired, and with no vestige of regal state A hood shaded, but did not conceal her face, the expression of which was said to have never been more attractive than on this trying occasion, when a mingled sentiment of calm but deep sadness increased, rather than diminished, the mild dignity of her aspect She was attended by Lady Edward Boleyn and Lady Kingston, neither of whom experienced the least sympathy for her The queen bowed to the court, not with the shame or fear of a criminal before her judges, but with the modest confidence of a persecuted woman, certain of her own innocence, and in her secret soul appealing to a higher tribunal—that of God It was a terrible scene, and for the first time exhibited in England, to behold a queen openly charged with crimes, among which was one from which even the vilest of the sex would shrink with horror While she listened to the disgusting accusations, often

did the blush of wounded modesty stain her brow. The witnesses brought forward against her could prove nothing to criminate her. Their evidence, undefined and contradictory, could easily have been rebutted, had Anne been allowed counsel, or had she not been prejudged. Smeaton, the vile and perjured craven, was not brought to confront her, for her foes dreaded the effect of her presence on him, on which she also counted, for she believed he must quail before her indignant glance.

The prosecution ended, Anne commenced her own defence, and such was the effect produced by her simple but eloquent address, appealing no less to the common sense of all present than to their justice, that many believed she must be acquitted. Of all present, one only was impartial; and how did his appearance, on that awful occasion, recall the *past* to the queen. This person was no other than Percy, the first, the sole lover of Anne, when, in her girlish days, she aspired to no greater ambition than to become his wife. Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, betrayed great agitation during the trial, and before its termination quitted the court, alleging a sudden illness as the cause. When the sentence that she should be burnt or beheaded was pronounced, Anne uttered no cry, but, raising up her hands, exclaimed,—“O Father! O Creator! Thou art the way, and the truth, and the life; Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death.” Then, turning to her judges, and fixing her eyes on her cruel uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, she said,—“My lord, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my appeal ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reason and occasion of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than those produced here in court, for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations, so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not, perhaps, at all times, shown him that humility and reverence that his goodness to me, and the honour to which he has raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion to resist; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him, and I shall never confess any otherwise.”

How unlike the address of a guilty woman, just condemned to a violent death, is this calm and dignified appeal!

The death of his victim was not sufficient to satisfy the hatred of the cruel and tyrannical Henry. She must encounter still sharper

agony than a violent death could inflict, by the degradation of her child. He willed his marriage with Anne to be annulled even before death, then advancing with rapid strides, should release him from wedlock, in order that the illegitimacy of the infant Princess Elizabeth should preclude her from disputing the succession with any daughter to which Jane Seymour might give birth. The plea for this step was Anne's having been contracted to the Earl of Northumberland previously to having wedded with him—a statement wholly untrue, and declared to be so by the earl himself.

On the 17th of May, Lord Rochford and the other accused persons were executed. Anne was made aware of this, but her mind was so wholly engrossed in preparations for her own approaching death, that the loss of a brother so fondly loved was looked on by her as only the departure on a journey of a dear friend, whom she would join a few hours later. Her prayers to God before whom she was soon to be summoned were fervent and frequent, uninterrupted by the presence of any one dear to her; no parting adieus shook her courage or melted her heart. Of her child she thought with all a mother's tenderness, praying for her as a dying mother might; and she earnestly entreated Lady Kingston to implore the Princess Mary to pardon any occasional slights which she had received from her.

Those around her were no less edified than surprised at the resignation and fortitude which she maintained to the last. She approached the block with a calm countenance and a firm step, endeavouring to console her weeping followers, among whom was her early friend, the sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt, to whom she gave, as a parting gift, a small manuscript prayer-book, with a request to wear it ever in her breast, as a memorial of undying affection. She besought her other attendants to forgive her if she had ever offended them; and then, ascending the scaffold, is said to have addressed those around her as follows: "Friends and good Christian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge myself adjudged by law, how justly I will not say; I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve his Majesty long to reign over you. A more gentle or mild prince never swayed sceptre; his bounty towards me hath been special. If any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I entreat them to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit any censorious conceit; and so I bid the world farewell, beseeching you to commend me in your prayers to God."

This address has been very properly doubted. Mr. Secretary

Cromwell, whose son and heir was married to the sister of Jane Seymour, who had supplanted Anne in Henry's affection and who, though he owed his present greatness to her, was too much of a courtier to give her the least succour in her troubles, was present, and probably introduced the words about a gentle and mild prince to please his tyrant master. At all events those declarations are not more opposed to nature and honesty, than they are to her own words in her letter to the king of the 6th of May, that "he must hereafter expect to be called to a strict account for his treatment of her, if he took away her life on false and slanderous pretences." She spoke with an unfaltering voice and a calm countenance; and then, uncovering her neck, she knelt down and prayed aloud, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul!" She laid her head on the block, but is said by one account to have refused to have her eyes bandaged; and that such was the effect which their saint-like expression produced on her executioner, that he could not strike the fatal blow, until, by inducing some of his attendants to approach on her right side, he, taking off his shoes, noiselessly advanced on the left; and Anne, hearing the steps on her right, turned her glance on that side, when the axe fell on that fair neck, and severed the head from it. A Portuguese gentleman, however, who was present, relates that her eyes were bandaged with a handkerchief by one of her ladies. A cry of grief and horror burst from the spectators when the head of the victim fell; but it was hushed by the discharge of artillery, which made known the tragical catastrophe, and was the signal to Henry that he was free to wed Jane Seymour.

JANE SEYMOUR,

.. THIRD QUEEN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

If the ascent of Anne Boleyn to the throne of Henry the Eighth met with well-merited censure, as being purchased at the heavy cost of misery to that good and virtuous queen, Katharine of Arragon, whose repudiation, and the ingratitude, insults, and cruelties that preceded and followed it, broke the proud and loyal heart of the noble Spaniard, what can be said of the successor of the hapless Anne, Jane Seymour, who mounted the steps of the throne still ensanguined with the warm life-blood of her predecessor? That blood—shed only the previous day, and shed that the selfish and cruel Henry might remove the only obstacle to the gratification of his passion for Jane Seymour—was hardly cold, when, forgetting all womanly feeling and decency, Jane plighted her troth to the widower of a day—the self-made widower, too!—who had condemned his wife's head to the block. As Anne Boleyn had betrayed her mistress Queen Katharine, and wiled away from her the affection of the king, so did Jane Seymour win from Anne the fickle heart of Henry, and, indifferent to the anguish she inflicted, and the violent death she must have known would follow, to make place for her on the throne, thought only of gratifying her own pride and ambition.

Of all Henry's acts of cruelty—and they were neither “few nor far between”—there is no one more revolting than these bloodstained nuptials, the unseemly haste of which have led impartial readers to disbelieve the crimes of which Anne Boleyn was accused, and to attribute the charges brought against her to Henry's desire for the possession of her unfeeling rival.

Like Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour is said to have resided some years in the French court, and to have filled a similar position in the regal retinue of the Princess Mary of England, queen to Louis the Twelfth. A portrait of her in the royal collection at Versailles, simply



labelled as maid of honour to that queen, appears to be the proof adduced of her residence in France ; and as this portrait is a pendant to one of Anne Boleyn, both painted by Holbein, and in similar habiliments, the evidence, if not quite conclusive, may be received as probable.

Jane Seymour was the eldest of the eight children of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire. The Seymours were a country family of no particular distinction, though tracing themselves from the Normans. The mother of Jane, however, a Wentworth, claimed a more ambitious descent, and an alliance with princely blood. Whether Henry really believed in the truth of this claim, disputed by able genealogists, or that he wished to give distinction to the object of his choice, certain it is that he applied for and obtained a dispensation, on the ground of kindred, for his marriage with his third queen. It was not only on this occasion that Henry sought to make it appear that the object of his affection had claim to royal blood, for when he ennobled Anne Boleyn by creating her Marchioness of Pembroke, he took care that the patent should contain an allusion to this point, by its stating that a sovereign should surround his throne with many peers, the worthiest of both sexes, especially those who are of royal blood. There is no doubt this creation was but a preface to the regal dignity to which he was bent on elevating her, and the terms of the patent a sort of excuse to his subjects for the inequality of the future queen he meant to give them ; for, blinded as he was by his passion, he could not but be sensible that his wedding a subject must give dissatisfaction. How must the heart of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn have trembled, and her conscience smote her, when she discovered that one of her own maids of honour was enacting towards her the treacherous part that *she* had played towards her royal mistress Katharine ! And yet, although both Anne and Jane were alike culpable in listening to the guilty vows of a married man—the husband, too, of their good queen—Anne Boleyn was less blameable than Jane, for Anne sought not the love of Henry—nay, more, retired from the court to avoid it, and had it not been for the efforts and interference of Cardinal Wolsey, urged on by Henry, would have become the wife of Percy, the object of her affection. Long did she cherish this passion, and resist all the vows with which Henry pursued her ; while Jane Seymour secretly laid herself out to attract the king and win him from Queen Anne, conscious, as she must have been, of the destruction it must bring down on her

unhappy mistress It is said, that such faith did Anne place in the love of the king, that no suspicion of his growing tenderness for another dawned on her mind until the fearful truth broke on it by detecting her rival in so familiar a position with Henry, and so unresistingly receiving his caresses, that no doubt could be left that this habit of dalliance had been of some date. Other authors assert that the discovery was made by Anne's seeing a valuable ornament worn by Jane, which, wishing to examine more closely, Jane betrayed so much embarrassment, that the queen, growing suspicious, snatched it, and found it to contain the portrait of the king; but we incline to the first statement. The queen was then about to become a mother; and such was the shock her frame sustained by the discovery of the infidelity of her husband, that the consequences took place which are recorded in the life of that queen.

Henry is said to have waited beneath a tree in Richmond Park, where he sought shade from the sun, surrounded by his train, on the morning of the 19th of May, 1536, when the sound of the gun that announced the severing of the beautiful head he had once doted on, from the fair body so fondly prized, struck on his eager ear, which thirsted for the signal that he was free. He uttered an exclamation of joy, commanded the hounds to be let loose, the chase to commence, and took the route towards Wolf Hall, where his future bride awaited his presence. Did no shudder pass over her frame when she greeted the self-made widower? Did her hand not tremble when it met the clasp of that which had so lately signed the death-warrant of Anne Boleyn? Had she no womanly thought of how often she had beheld that hand fondle her late mistress, whom he once loved so passionately? Such thoughts, we fear, were far from Jane Seymour at that meeting. She saw in her burly lover but the instrument to crown her ambition, him who was to elevate her to the throne she longed to ascend.

The following morning Henry led her to the altar in the parish church nearest her father's seat in Wiltshire, where the nuptials were solemnised, in the presence of several of the king's favourites. After the wedding-feast the party proceeded to Marwell, a residence wrested from the church by Henry and granted to the Seymours. Thence they went to Winchester, where, after remaining a few days, they directed their course to London, where, on the 29th of May, Jane was presented as queen to her subjects. Loud were the congratulations, and exaggerated the compliments lavished on the bride and bridegroom.

by their obsequious courtiers on this occasion ; and, when parliament opened a short time after, the Lord Chancellor Audley, not content with noticing the recent marriage of his sovereign with all due respect, lavished on him the most fulsome panegyric as a victim to circumstances connected with his two former marriages, and extravagant laudation for a third time entering the bonds of wedlock, trying to make it appear that Henry did so solely for the good of his kingdom, and not to satisfy his own inclination. Audley referred, with an unfeeling and indelicate openness, to the guilt of Anne Boleyn, evincing, by so doing, that he was well aware of the gross mind of his ferocious master ; for surely decency ought to have taught him to avoid all mention of her. He moved that the infant Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the ill-fated Anne, should be declared illegitimate ; as also had been the Princess Mary, daughter of the ill-used Katharine of Arragon ; and that the crown should devolve on the children, male or female, of the new queen, Jane Seymour. Low indeed must have been the state of morals, and terrible the dread inspired by the gross sensualist Henry, when a lord chancellor could thus outrage common decency and truth, in presence of parliament, without one voice being raised in dissent to his falsehoods ! He must have known the moral degradation of those he was addressing, to count on, not merely their toleration, but their approbation.

Jane Seymour had acquired wisdom by the example furnished during the reign of her unhappy predecessor. Without the natural gaiety and ready wit so apt to encroach on the dignity of a queen, and so dangerous in the wife of a moody and suspicious husband, for which Anne Boleyn was so remarkable ; Jane was not tempted into any of those levities and *repartees* which the possession of these fascinating qualities but too often induces. Calm and discreet, no less by acquired prudence than by natural temperament, she observed a dignified and queen-like demeanour, equally removed from haughtiness and familiarity. If she captivated few, she offended none, but pursued the even tenor of her way, satisfied with her high estate, and by no means disposed to do aught that could risk its loss by incurring the displeasure of her lord and master. Little can be recorded of a woman so discreet and cautious as Jane during the brief period she filled the place vacated by the death of Anne Boleyn. She took no part in political intrigues, leaned to no party ; and although the sister of the ambitious Somerset, never allowed herself to be made the

instrument to work out any of his designs. The eighteen months' of her regal life were passed in a manner utterly obsequious to the king, and the fear of that axe which had fallen on her predecessor. No word or sentence of hers was of sufficient merit to be recorded; the only official act to which her signature is appended is the order for the delivery of two bucks to the keeper of the chapel royal: and one of the most remarkable facts of her short reign, was riding on horseback, with the king and court, across the Thames at Greenwich in the severe frost of January, 1537. She is said to have behaved with great kindness to the Princess Mary, and to have won Henry to tolerate her. Of the helpless infant Elizabeth, then in her fourth year, historians give us no reason to believe that she took any notice, although the position of the poor child might well excite commiseration and sympathy, stripped of the title of Princess of Wales, which she had borne since her birth, and deprived of a mother by a violent death. Jane could not have been deterred from showing kindness to the child by any dread of offending her stern husband; for Henry had Elizabeth brought up under his own eye, and invariably evinced great affection for her, while towards her elder half-sister he behaved with coldness, if not dislike, angered by her long resistance to sign the acknowledgment of his supremacy, the renunciation of the power of the pope, the invalidity of the marriage of her mother with Henry, and consequently the illegitimacy of her own birth. It cannot be wondered at that the Princess Mary, then of an age to comprehend her own position, objected to sign articles alike contrary to her conscience and interest, until finding that nothing else would conciliate her hard-hearted and stubborn father, she was compelled to yield. Perhaps it was to this obedience to Henry's wishes, rather than to the queen's interference in her favour, that she owed her toleration by him, even though Jane Seymour gave proofs of kindness towards her, for which Mary expressed her sense of gratitude not only by applying the endearing epithet of mother to her, but by praying God to grant her a prince—a prayer the sincerity of which we cannot help doubting, as its fulfilment must shut out herself from her chance of the throne.

Unlike her two predecessors, Jane Seymour was never crowned. This ceremony had been postponed owing to the plague, then prevalent in London, and most of all in Westminster, where it greatly raged; and when its violence had abated, the queen was in a state that

promised to give Henry the longed-for heir, and rendered him fearful of exposing her to the fatigue of a coronation. He announced her condition with no less pride than satisfaction ; but even then did not conceal that he took a much more lively interest in the unborn child than its mother. One passage in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk furnishes a proof of this, as well as of the coarseness of the writer. It is that in which he expresses his intention of remaining near her. He writes :—" Considering that being *but a woman*, upon some sudden and unpleasant rumours and broils that might, by foolish or light persons, be blown abroad in our absence, she might take to *stomach* such impressions as might engender no little danger or displeasure to the infant with which she is now pregnant (which God forbid), it hath been thought by our council very necessary that, for avoiding such perils, we should not extend our progress further from her than sixty miles." The substitution of taking to *stomach*, instead of taking to *heart*, shows how much more Henry was sensible of physical than moral effects, and that he thought more of his future heir than of his wife, and leads us to believe the reported assertion that when the dangerous labour of the queen induced her attendants to ask the king whether the infant or mother were to be saved, he answered, without a moment's hesitation, " The child, by all means ; for other wives could be easily found." On the 12th of October, 1537, Jane gave birth to Prince Edward, in Hampton Court Palace ; an event which filled the king with transport, and consequently delighted his courtiers. His joy was manifested by noisy hilarity, and theirs by an affectation of irrepressible rapture.

This turbulent joy, however gratifying to the newly-made mother's feelings, was very injurious to her in the weak state to which she had been reduced ; and the christening, which followed only three days after, from appearing at a portion of which splendid but tedious ceremony she was not exempted, proved too much for her exhausted frame. This solemn rite took place at midnight in the chapel of Hampton Court, with all the etiquette peculiar to such occasions ; and when concluded, the infant prince was borne back to receive the benediction of his mother, attended by a stately procession, heralded by loud clarions, and as loud shouts of rejoicing—a terrible trial to the queen in her state of languor, and from the effects of which she never recovered. In twelve days after her confinement she resigned her breath, ere yet satiety had weaned from her the affection of her sickle husband, and while he was still rejoicing in the birth of his new-born

heir. Henry, albeit unused to give way to grief, evinced some natural sorrow for his lost queen. He wore mourning for her three months, an honour he never paid to any of her predecessors or successors, and his courtiers observed the same etiquette. All respect and honours were shown to the remains of the departed queen. Every insignia of royalty was used to attest her dignity; innumerable masses were offered up for the repose of her soul, and, after lying in state till the 12th of November, her body was removed, attended by a grand funeral procession, from Hampton Court to Windsor for interment, where it was laid in the vault of St. George's Chapel. In the will of Henry, directions were found inserted, that the bones of his "loving Queen Jane" were to be placed in his tomb—instructions which were faithfully carried into effect.

ANNE OF CLEVES.

THE character of Anne of Cleves differs from that of the greater number of our English queens. Neither distinguished for her personal beauty nor brilliancy of talent, our attention is arrested by a queen who was gifted with such an extraordinary serenity of mind, such indifference or insensibility to the gifts of fortune, whichever it might be, as to assume a regal diadem without ostentation, and to relinquish it without a sigh. One is naturally interested in investigating the history of such an individual; and though the particulars of Anne's life prior to her marriage with Henry the Eighth, have not been much dwelt on by historians, the little which has reached us is not unworthy of notice.

Anne, whose father was John, the third Duke of Cleves, was born September 22nd, 1517, and educated with her sisters Sybilla and Amelia, under the care of their mother Marié, a daughter of William, Duke of Juliers, Berg and Ravensburg. The young princesses were brought up in the Lutheran faith, but though well instructed in reading and writing their own language, they were ignorant of any other. We are also informed they were very skilful in needlework, but that music and dancing were not suffered to constitute a part of their studies, it being the opinion in their country that such pursuits only tended to lightness and frivolity of character.

Even during the lifetime of her father, Anne had been sought in marriage by her future husband, King Henry, who after vainly endeavouring to form an alliance with some French princess, whose high birth would consolidate his own dignity and security, had turned his thoughts to those ladies who were nearly related to the Smalcaldic League. In fact, Henry had found the utmost difficulty in procuring a wife amongst foreign princesses. He had an evil reputation for a husband, which, though it did not daunt Englishwomen, certainly

made foreign ladies shrink aghast. After the divorce of one wife, the beheading of a second, and the speedy death of his third, not even a throne could tempt a princess of any pretensions to accept the hand of the tyrant, now no longer young. He had tried all his eloquence in vain at the French court, and the witty Duchess Dowager of Milan had refused him with the very natural but very cutting remark, that "she had but one head, and could not afford to lose it!" Cromwell in a luckless hour for himself, proposed the Princess Anne of Cleves, and Henry having yielded a ready assent, a treaty was entered into with Duke John. Many impediments however delaying the conclusion of this, it was finally arranged by Duke William, Anne's brother, after his father's death, in spite of the strong opposition raised by the Elector of Saxony who had married her sister Sybilla.

Although policy was the basis of this marriage, the ideas of Henry relative to the sex were so peculiarly delicate, that he was excessively desirous to behold the object of his choice, and Hans Holbein was appointed to paint the portrait of Anne to satisfy his curiosity. This miniature was enclosed in a box of ivory, delicately carved, in the form of a white rose. It unscrewed in two places; in one of which appeared the portrait of Henry, and in the other that of Anne of Cleves. Both box and miniatures were exquisite works of art, and they are still preserved at Goodrich Court, in the collection of articles of high historic value, made by the late Sir Samuel Meyrick. A tall robust woman had been portrayed to the mind of the English king as his future wife, and no sooner had he beheld the portrait than he gave orders for Anne instantly to commence her journey to England. It is impossible to describe in the narrow limits here allotted, the royal progress of the princess from Dusseldorf. Anne quitted her native city of Dusseldorf in the month of October, 1539. She travelled on the first day as far as Berg, a distance of twenty English miles: her next stage was from Berg to Cleve, thence to Ravenstein, after that to Berlingburg, Tilburg, Haggengstrete, and then to Antwerp, at which place about four miles from the town, she was met by many English merchants attired in velvet coats with chains of gold. On entering the town itself, Anne was received "with twice fourscore torches, beginning in the daylight," and so brought to her English lodging, where she was honourably received, and open house kept for her and for her train during one day. The following morning she was conducted to Stetkyn by the English merchants, who departed after having presented a gift to the future queen, who continued her

progress through Tokyn, Bruges, Oldenburg, Newport, Dunkirk, and Gravelines to Calais, where she arrived on the 11th of December. As she approached that place, Lord Lisle, lieutenant of the castle, and Sir George Carew, with a gallant train of noblemen and gentlemen, met her and escorted her into Calais, under a royal salute of artillery from the vessels stationed there, which was echoed by the ordnance along the coast.

Anne, detained by adverse winds, remained twenty days at Calais, during which she was courteously entertained. She sailed from Calais, December 27th, 1539, attended by a fleet of fifty sail, and had so favourable a passage that she landed at Deal the same day at five o'clock, and proceeded to Walmer Castle, where she met with a regal welcome. She next proceeded to Dover, and thence to Canterbury. At Rochester, Henry, who had privately repaired to the town in the height of anxiety to behold his bride elect, obtained a private view of the princess which overwhelmed him with vexation and disappointment. Tall indeed and of striking proportions, Anne was beyond doubt, but so plain and deficient in grace and dignity that in the excessive mortification of the moment, the king exclaimed "they had brought him a great Flanders mare, whom he could not possibly love." To complete his annoyance Anne spoke only the German language, of which he was entirely ignorant. An interview with the king himself did not prepossess Anne much more in his favour. Henry brought with him a paillet of sable skins for her neck and a rich muff and tippet for "a new year's gift," and had even sent to say so, but so destitute did he consider the lady of beauty that he would not present them with his own hand, but left them to be conveyed to Anne next day by Sir Anthony Brown. Returning to Greenwich he lamented his hard fate in pathetic terms without receiving any consolation from his courtiers, who remarked that kings could not, like their subjects, act to please themselves, but their choice must be by necessity guided by others. A council was actually called to consider if by any possibility Anne could be restored to her friends without the marriage being completed, but for reasons of state the king durst not affront her family. The king had heard of a sort of prior contract between Anne and Francis, son of the Duke of Lorraine, and hoped to take advantage of this to break off the match, but the ambassadors of the Duke of Cleves, on the subject being named to them, offered to produce a formal renunciation of the contract, which would be in fact an absolute release. Thus no hope of escape was left, and Henry was compelled with reluctance

to close the affair with Anne, remaining that as matters had gone so far he must even put his neck into the collar

Anne meantime awaited Henry's commands at Dartford. The king having decided to marry her even against his will made a public announcement that Anne should be met and welcomed as queen at Greenwich and at that place five or six thousand horsemen assembled for a procession where Henry and the ambassador of the emperor joined them. Anne of Cleves first met Henry in public on the plain of Blad heath, near Shooters Hill whence with all the pageantry of pompous state she was conducted to Greenwich where the ceremony of her marriage was performed on January 6th with the splendour befitting the occasion.

Shortly afterwards Cromwell who had been so zealous to bring about this match enquired of Henry with no small anxiety whether he liked his queen better? A decided negative was the reply, to which were added many unpleasant remarks respecting the queen. After this although Henry was civil outwardly to Anne and apparently treated his minister with his former confidence such was his real displeasure at the marriage that it led ultimately to the ruin of this minister, who worthy of a better fate was tried, condemned and executed.

After Cromwell's death Henry's dislike to Anne was more openly evinced. On the 12th of April her dower had been settled by the parliament by which her legal rights as Queen Consort were acknowledged. Not long after her foreign attendants were dismissed. Anne seems therefore to have been left quite at the mercy of Henry's caprice who did not scruple to outrage her feelings. It almost appears as if the death of Cromwell was designed to deprive her of his service and friendship for Anne had appeared to seek his counsel on more than one occasion which Cromwell abstained from giving from prudential motives. The last appearance of the king and queen in public together was at Durham House on the occasion of some splendid pageants given in honour of their marriage by Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir John Dudley, and Sir George Carew in the month of May. After Cromwell's arrest Anne was sent to Richmond by Henry on pretence that she needed the country air. Henry indeed was bent upon separating himself legally from an object so distasteful to him. This intention was known to the house of parliament who prayed him to allow his marriage to be examined, and a convocation being summoned particulars of the transaction were laid before it. As an excuse for a divorce Henry again alleged that a prior contract had been made for Anne by her father to the Duke of Lorraine at the time she was in her

minority, although this had afterwards been annulled by the consent of both parties. Moreover, that in marrying Anne himself he had not *inwardly* given *his* consent, nor had he thought proper to consummate the marriage. These reasons being esteemed satisfactory, the union of Henry and Anne was annulled, and the decision ratified by the parliament.

The conduct of Anne, under the trying circumstances in which she was placed, does great honour both to her head and heart. During the short period she lived with Henry she seems to have assiduously endeavoured to please him, and is said to have taken especial pains in acquiring a knowledge of the English language, knowing how uncongenial the "high Dutch" was to the ears of her capricious tyrant. The king's character was, however, but too obvious during even her short acquaintance with him : the fate of Katharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn had served Anne as an example. With calmness and dignity she received the intimation of her sentence. So placid was her manner on the occasion, as to induce a belief that her heart was destitute of feeling. That was not, however, the case, but clearly Henry had never tried, and certainly had not gained her affections, and she resigned her ties with him without regret, so readily, that the vanity of Henry was sensibly mortified. She yielded a ready assent to the propositions made by him, that she should be treated as an adopted sister, and next to the queen or his daughter, enjoy the honours of precedence. These conditions, with the still more weighty assurance of an annual settlement [of 3000*l*], procured her willing assent to the proposed divorce. There was, however, one point on which Anne testified some spirit. She had quitted her native country as Queen of England, and would not return thither under any inferior dignity. The residue of her days she accordingly passed in England.

Anne was Queen of England only six months, and ere her divorce from Henry, his fickle heart had formed an attachment to Katharine Howard, who was destined to supply her place on his throne. During the short period that Anne was Henry's wife, she certainly did study to please the capricious lord in whose power she had become placed by destiny. Even before her divorce was announced, she had made herself mistress of the English tongue, and soon after adopted the style of dress of her new countrywomen. After the divorce, however, was carried out, Anne sunk into apparent insignificance, "no more being said of her than if she were dead." Yet the accounts of contemporaries show that she passed her time in a quiet and pleasant domesticity

extremely beloved wherever she was known, and truly kind to the poor. She possessed at first the manor of Bletchingly, which was afterwards exchanged for that of Penshurst. Her time, at some seasons, was passed at Richmond, at others at Ham or Dartford, and she maintained her intimacy with the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. She survived her mother's death, which took place A.D. 1543, and that of the fickle-minded Henry the Eighth, who terminated his existence in 1547. Katharine Howard's death must have caused Anne's tranquil heart to shudder at her own narrow escape; and the king's subsequent marriage with Katharine Parr would further enlighten her upon her own good fortune of exemption from the caprices of so variable a character. She survived the young Edward the Sixth, and attended the coronation of Mary, on which occasion the Princess Elizabeth rode in her carriage in the royal cavalcade. The death of Anne of Cleves took place at her palace at Chelsea, July the 16th, 1557, in the fourth year of Mary's reign, and the forty-first of her own age; and her funeral was solemnised in Westminster Abbey with royal splendour by the queen's orders.

At the feet of King Sebert, the original founder of the edifice, lies the last remains of a queen, who certainly merited better treatment; for although not gifted with the mental attainments of Katharine of Arragon, the graces of Anne Boleyn, or of Jane Seymour, she possessed qualities which were calculated to adorn her station, had they not been blunted by adverse circumstances and the will of an impetuous and arbitrary tyrant.

KATHARINE HOWARD.

QUEEN Katharine Howard, Henry the Eighth's fifth consort, was sprung from the imperial house of Charlemagne, being the descendant of the lovely and amiable Adelais of Louvaine. Singularly enough, she was also cousin-german of Anne Boleyn.

Lord Edmund Howard, father of the queen, had distinguished himself at the battle of Flodden Field, and received, as a recompense, the forfeited Dukedom of Norfolk, with the honour of knighthood. By his wife Jocosa, daughter of Sir Richard Culpepper, of Hollingbourn, in Kent, he had a numerous family. Katharine was his fifth child, and supposed to be born about 1522. After the death of Jocosa, Lord Howard married Lady Dorothy Troyes. The loss of a mother in her tender infancy, was Katharine's first misfortune; the second, was her removal, on the death of her grandfather, Lord Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to the care of his widow, Agnes Tylney. This lady grievously neglected the important trust reposed in her, and suffered Katharine to associate freely with her waiting-women, whose apartment she shared. These persons unhappily were of a most abandoned character; and thus early thrown into immediate association with vice, it was no wonder that the events transpired which threw afterwards a dark cloud over the brightness of the illustrious house to which she owed her origin.

Encouraged by the female attendants of her grandmother, Katharine, at the early age of thirteen, was induced to give encouragement to the presuming addresses of Henry Manox, a performer on the virginals, who had been attracted by her youthful beauty while employed as her instructor, during her stay at Horsham, in Norfolk. With this man, who was of a very profligate character, Katharine had several stolen interviews; but her attachment, if such it could be called, was interrupted by her guardian's removal to Lambeth, on the occasion

of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, Katharine's cousin, and the christening of the infant Princess Elizabeth, which took place A D 1533. There Katharine commenced another acquaintance equally derogatory to her high birth and dignity, with Francis Derham, a gentleman employed in the service of her uncle the Duke of Norfolk. Derham, being a favourite with the aged duchess, aspired to the hand of the lovely girl thus unhappily thrown in his way, and to whose society he found no difficulty in gaining access, surrounded, as she still was, by her grandmother's household.

The artful Derham contrived to insinuate himself so far into Katharine's regard as to obtain in exchange of love tokens. He effected this by aiding her in her necessity for money to purchase various articles of female finery which though coveted by the young and rising beauty, were beyond her reach. So grateful was Katharine for his attention, that she actually yielded her consent to become his affianced wife. Such an acknowledgment was then considered binding and even now would in Scotland be esteemed a lawful marriage. Katharine consented that Derham should address her as his 'wife,' and agreed to give to him the name of "husband." After this Derham was privately admitted into the society of his betrothed, his presents to her continued to be received, and, on his departure on a distant expedition, all his money was entrusted to her care! Alas! how tangled a web was fast weaving round the footsteps of England's future queen!

When the aged grandmother of Katharine, who had blindly been the cause of all this injury to her young relative by her own utter neglect, was made at last acquainted with what had been going on under her roof, such was her indignation that she is said to have vented it in "blows" on Katharine, but Derham was beyond her power.

The matter was concealed from scrutiny for the sake of the illustrious house, on which a member had brought shame and sorrow. The wretches who had led their young charge into so perilous a path were discharged from the service of the old duchess, and Katharine herself was placed under a severe personal restraint. The salutary effect of this change of treatment soon became obvious by an alteration in her own conduct, for from that time, in her progress towards maturity, she improved in every feminine grace, accompanied by that modest reserve which should be woman's natural inheritance. When, therefore, Derham privately sought to renew his intercourse with her, he found that an insurmountable barrier existed in the altered feelings of the

young lady herself. For the present, therefore, he returned into Ireland.

Henry the Eighth is supposed to have first met Katharine Howard at a banquet, soon after his union with Anne of Cleves. The contrast with the phlegmatic queen he had selected made the loveliness of the opening beauty yet more conspicuous, and the conquest was complete. Katharine was speedily appointed maid of honour to Queen Anne, and is said to have attracted notice for her propriety of conduct in this new office, in which capacity she certainly acted more conscientiously than either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour had done towards their royal mistress of that day. As a matter of course, the divorce of Henry followed this new attachment, and within a few days or hours after that event was publicly announced, the king was privately united to Katharine Howard, who in the following month was publicly introduced at Hampton Court as his queen. After this she accompanied her husband to Windsor, and was his companion in a royal progress through the country.

Nothing could exceed the fondness of Henry for his new consort, whom historians describe as beautiful in person and graceful in demeanour, while her exceedingly youthful and childish manners added fresh charms in the eyes of her royal spouse. She acquired the king's entire confidence, which was extended to her whole family; and, so desirous was Henry to exhibit his private happiness to the nation, that he gave orders that a solemn public thanksgiving should be offered up to Heaven, for the blessing bestowed on him in such a wife! The blissful dream of his love was not, however, destined to be of long endurance. The very day following that ceremony, Cranmer forwarded to him the particulars of Katharine's early life, which have already been disclosed to the reader. These had been communicated to the prelate during the late royal progress into the North, and had the effect of drawing tears from the eyes of the hitherto enraptured and happy Henry!

The dreadful discovery of Katharine's guilt was brought about by the persons who had early implicated her in crime. The women who had been her first associates, and were acquainted with every particular of her infancy, finding her elevated to the regal dignity, made use of this information to secure their own advancement. Thus Katharine, entirely at their mercy, was forced to receive their communications; and herself, ignorant of the art of writing, was compelled to admit *Francis Derham* into her household as her own private secretary,

to prevent exposure of the letters they addressed to her. Lady Rochford, the very person whose intrigues had been the ruin of her cousin, Queen Anne Boleyn, was moreover Katharine's principal lady in waiting: through her intervention Katharine had a long interview with her relative Thomas Culpepper, whose object seems to have been to expostulate with her on her imprudence in admitting Derham again into her confidence, but who from the lateness of the hour selected became involved in the suspicions attached to Katharine.

After the first burst of passion and indignation, Henry summoned his council, and caused the persons from whom the information which implicated Katharine had been received, to be strictly questioned. After this, the criminal parties were apprehended, when Derham confessed boldly "that a promise of marriage had been exchanged between himself and the queen, many years previous to her union with the king; that they had lived as man and wife while he was in the service of her grandmother, the Duchess of Norfolk; that they were regarded in that light among the servants in the family; that he was accustomed to call her wife, and that she had often called him husband, before witnesses; that they had exchanged gifts and love-tokens frequently, in those days; and that he had given her money whenever he had it." Since Katharine's marriage with the king, he solemnly denied that any familiarity had taken place between them.

The king's feelings may be imagined, at finding that the idolised Katharine was so entirely unworthy of his affection. He would not encounter an interview with her, nor send any message; but the council in a body waited on her, to inform her of what had occurred. Katharine vehemently asserted her innocence; but, on being left to herself, fell into fits, which were so violent as to endanger her life. Afterwards, when she found the testimony of others had made it fruitless to deny her guilt, she signed a full confession, upon which she was attainted, together with Lady Rochford, of high treason, by an act of Parliament, which also declared most of her family guilty of misprision of treason. This act contained the extraordinary clause, that if in future the king, or any of his successors, should marry a lady in whose character any flaw existed, any person knowing such to be the case, should incur the same penalty; while the lady herself, for concealing her fault, would likewise be declared guilty of high treason. This law was, however, repealed in the following year.

The degraded queen had been removed from Hampton Court to

Sion House, and thence was afterwards conveyed to the Tower, where she passed one night, that which preceded her execution.

Derham, Manox, and Culpepper had been executed immediately after their confession, and their heads were placed over London Bridge. During the interval between the discovery of the queen's guilt and her punishment, the aged Duchess of Norfolk was committed to prison, where grief and terror caused her to be seized by a dangerous illness. She was, however, as well as the other members of her family, finally pardoned after the death of her grandchild. Katharine learnt in succession all these sad particulars, during the brief interval that preceded her own fate. The Duke of Norfolk, her uncle, was her only surviving friend who could have averted her doom by exertions in her behalf, but she had offended him, and he abandoned her in the hour of anguish, as he had done his other niece, Anne Boleyn, and various other of his relatives.

The royal assent to the attainder of Katharine Howard having been obtained, the queen was conducted to the scaffold on the 13th of February; that same scaffold on which Anne Boleyn, no less beautiful than herself, had recently suffered death. Lady Rochford was the companion of Katharine, and suffered with her; a just retribution for her conduct towards Anne. The queen received the fatal stroke with a composure which in the minds of some of the witnesses led to the belief of her innocence, and Lady Rochford imitated the demeanour of her mistress. As soon as the execution of the sentence was over, the mangled body of Katharine was removed without any funereal honours, and deposited near the remains of her equally unfortunate predecessor in the affections of Henry—Queen Anne Boleyn, within the walls of the Tower.

Thus died King Henry's fifth wife, who, notwithstanding her early failings, appears clearly to have been guiltless of any of the crimes against the king which were laid to her charge. She was put to death without trial, and in violation of all the constitutional safeguards of human life which had been raised by the laws of England against the evil passions of tyrants. But no such tyrant as Henry the Eighth ever polluted any throne. His character has been admirably drawn by Sir Walter Raleigh,—“If all the patterns of a merciless tyrant,” he observes, “had been lost to the world, they might have been found in this prince.”



Katharine married at a very early age the Lord Borough, a descendant of the de Burghs, celebrated in the reign of Henry the Third by the prominent part taken by one of its members, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, in the transactions of those troubled times. Many years the senior of his youthful bride, and with children by a former marriage older than her, Lord Borough found no cause to regret having chosen a wife of such tender age. They are said to have lived harmoniously during their union, and he died when she was only in her sixteenth year, leaving her a large dowry, which, added to her personal charms and cultivation of mind, rendered her one of the most attractive women in England: no wonder, then, that she had many suitors. Lord Latimer, although past his youth, and twice a widower, was the preferred; nor can this preference be attributed to mercenary motives, for Katharine's own fortune precluded these, though the vast wealth and noble seats of Lord Latimer might have tempted a less-richly dowered bride. Lord Latimer was the father of a son and daughter by his second wife, and such was the judicious and gentle conduct of Katharine towards them, and her unvaried kindness to their father, that she secured the affection and formed the happiness of the family. So admirable were the qualities of Lady Latimer, and so prudent and decorous were her manners, that she was looked up to with an esteem and veneration seldom accorded to so youthful a woman. She passed the greater portion of her time in the peaceful seclusion of the country, discharging with zeal and tenderness the duties of a wife and stepmother, proving herself the soother of the cares and infirmities of an elderly husband, and the friend and adviser of his son and daughter. Though of acquirements so superior to the generality of her sex, she was totally exempt from the pedantry and free from the pretension which so often detract from superior knowledge in the young and beautiful. That she had already learned to think for herself may be concluded, when—with a husband old enough to be her father, and a prejudiced if not a bigoted Roman Catholic—she, without embittering the peace and happiness of her conjugal life by a single argument on religious subjects, had sincerely turned her strong mind to the reformed religion, the seeds of which were now planted to bring forth their fruits at a later period.

Of Lord Latimer's devotion to the Roman Catholic faith, a strong and to himself a dangerous proof was given by his joining, as one of the leaders, the band associated in the north of England under the name of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," and headed by Robert Aske, to

demand a restoration of the church property and monasteries, which led to an open insurrection, when an appeal to the sovereign was found ineffectual.

Katharine soon after her husband's pardon for his participation in this affair again became a widow, and by this event a large dowry was added to her income, including the manors of Cumberton, Wadborough, and several other estates in Worcestershire. At liberty to follow the bias of her own convictions, she now turned to the study of that creed which the opposition that might naturally be expected from her late lord had previously prevented her from openly avowing. Assisted in her researches after truth by some of the ablest advocates of the reformation, she soon embraced with pious fervour the tenets she could no longer doubt. The courage evinced by Katharine Parr in thus confronting danger, was no less remarkable than the piety which led her, while yet a youthful and lovely woman, in the possession of great wealth, and uncontrolled mistress of her own actions, to turn from the fascinations of pleasure, and the admiration she was formed to command, to devote her time to higher, nobler aims, in the study of her adopted religion, and the practice of its duties. But the austerity of her life, so unusual in her sex and at her age, did not deter suitors from seeking her hand. Among the most brilliant of these was one who had captivated many a female heart by his personal attractions, gallant bearing, and the art with which these advantages were exhibited when he wished to please. But perhaps the fair object to whom he now directed his attention was less struck by his manly comeliness, great as it was reported to be, than by the knowledge that he leaned to the creed *she* had adopted; for although Sir Thomas Seymour could not be considered a religious man, the mere fact that he preferred the reformed to the ancient faith, must have pleaded greatly in his favour with Katharine, whose heart, softened by his assiduities, yielded itself to his keeping, and won her to consent to bestow her hand on him at no very distant day. Fate had decreed that this marriage was not to be, or at least not then; for Katharine, who had already been the wife of two elderly widowers, was reserved to become the sixth wife of a third, and of no less a personage than her liege sovereign. That she was already well acquainted with the king, is proved by her kinsman, the poet Throckmorton. By her influence a persecution of Sir George Throckmorton, by Cromwell, Henry the Eighth's secretary, was put an end to, and Cromwell's own fall precipitated. This fact, which shows her influence with the king, took place in 1510, nine years before her

marriage with him. She, herself, came in for some of the spoils of Cromwell's estate,—amongst others, the manor of Wimbledon.

She at first met the king's advances with more of distrust and alarm than with gratified ambition. The fate of most of her predecessors must have served as an awful warning to any woman selected by Henry to replace them; for, however conscious of her own purity, the well-known caprice of that self-willed tyrant, and the unhesitating cruelty with which he obeyed its impulses, could not fail to make her tremble at placing her destiny in his power. Fear, in Katharine's case, was aided by her affection for another, in opposing the suit of him who was more accustomed to command than to sue.

This reluctance on her part only served to increase the ardour of Henry, who plied his suit so successfully, that Katharine at length assented to become his bride, ere the period prescribed by etiquette for her mourning for Lord Latimer had expired. What became of Sir Thomas Seymour, while Henry wooed and won his intended wife, history does not inform us. Too experienced a courtier to risk offending his royal master and brother-in-law, by disputing the hand of Katharine, he probably now wished to conceal that he had ever sought it, and nothing during the king's life leads to a supposition that he believed any attachment between his queen and brother-in-law had ever existed.

The nuptials of Henry with Katharine were solemnised in July, 1543, at Hampton Court, with all befitting state, in the presence of the daughters of Henry, and several of the lords and ladies most esteemed by and connected with the sovereign and his bride. Among these was the Earl of Hertford, the sight of whom must have reminded Katharine of her broken vows to his absent brother, if ambition had not at last wholly triumphed over more tender feelings. This, the sixth marriage contracted by Henry, excited no dissatisfaction in his subjects, and no envy or dislike towards the object of his choice. It seemed to be well understood that it had not been achieved by any aspirings or intrigues on the part of Katharine, whose reputation for virtue, prudence, and moderation, had acquired her general esteem and respect. Her elevation served not to detract from her noble qualities. Undazzled by the splendour that surrounded her, she, from the commencement of her marriage, performed towards her husband and his children the duties of an attentive wife and a kind mother, soothing the irascibility of a temper never good, but now rendered more intolerable by the infirmities entailed by his increasing age, and the result of his gross

habits of self-indulgence. No longer able to enjoy those sports for which his obesity and shattered health unfitted him, Henry pined for his wonted amusements, and brooded over the change in himself with gloomy forebodings of the final issue. If the choice he had made in his advanced age could not bring him all the pleasure he might have anticipated in the possession of a wife still youthful and handsome enough to excite love, it at least secured him a tender and assiduous nurse, and an intelligent and sweet-tempered companion. Without her, deplorable must have been the declining years of this relentless tyrant. To Katharine, how light in the balance in which human happiness is weighed, must have appeared the dignity and grandeur to which she had been raised, in comparison with the price with which she had purchased it!

A more pleasant, although scarcely a less difficult task for the queen, was that of the discharge of her maternal duties. The unfeeling and capricious conduct of Henry to his offspring had created in their breasts sentiments of dislike, if not hatred, towards each other. The Princess Mary was too old when she lost her royal mother not to comprehend and bitterly feel the insults and injustice heaped on the head of that virtuous queen—insults which must have abridged her life—and had been too long accustomed to be considered and treated as heiress to the throne, not to feel the injustice of being robbed of her birthright, to make room for the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the handmaid of her mother. She, the scion of a regal race, with the proud *sangre azula* of Spain flowing in her veins, must have looked disdainfully on the child of Anne Boleyn and the son of Jane Seymour, even had she not been stigmatised as illegitimate—a wound inflicted no less deeply on her loved mother's fame than on her own pride. How difficult, then, must it have been for Katharine Parr to have reconciled the jarring elements of dislike natural to the position in which the offspring of Henry had been placed, and to weave even a slender and temporary web of affinity between them! That she succeeded in winning their affection while guiding their studies, there can be no doubt. Proofs of this exist in their letters to her, as well as in the harmony in which they are reported to have lived,—convincing and irrefragable arguments in favour of the goodness of her heart, the excellence of her temper, and the soundness of her understanding.

While thus conscientiously and tenderly fulfilling her conjugal and maternal duties, Katharine found herself, very soon after she entered upon them, placed in a position not only difficult, but dangerous to her

own safety. Her devotion to the principles of the reformation, while it won her the esteem and reverence of those who espoused and advocated them, awakened the fears and excited the dislike of those opposed to any change. Some persons of little note, but of unspotted characters, had formed a religious pact, professing opinions of dissent from the six articles, still held inviolable by the church and state. Information having been given to the leaders of the adverse party, they, suspicious that the queen tacitly favoured these humble reformers, though she did not, and perhaps dared not, openly extend her protection to them, induced Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, to plead with the king for permission that a search should be instituted for the discovery of books meant to propagate the reformed faith.

Here we find the very prelate who had so lately pronounced the nuptial benediction on Henry and his queen, actively employed in sowing the first seeds of dissension between them—seeds so calculated not only to destroy the happiness of both, but to endanger the life of one; for the unrelenting cruelty of the king was too well known not to give rise to the thought of the possible, if not probable, result to Katharine, if she incurred the displeasure of her stern husband.

Little was found to justify suspicion; but that little, consisting of some commentaries on the Bible, and an unfinished Latin concordance, offered sufficient cause, to those who were predisposed to find one, for casting into prison John Marbeck, a chorister, in whose house they were found, and three individuals with whom he was associated. These three were tried and sentenced to the stake; but Marbeck, more fortunate, escaped this terrible death, some one having interceded for him with the king. What must have been the feelings of the queen at this barbarous cruelty exercised towards men guilty of no crime except the alleged one of entertaining the same creed as her own!

A good understanding was soon established between the Princess Mary and Katharine, which was the less to be expected from the great difference in their creeds—a difference which the proximity of their ages enabled them soon to perceive. Nothing was left undone on the part of the queen to encourage the king to render justice to both his daughters by assuring their position at court, not only as his acknowledged offspring, but as having a right, in case of the failure of male heirs, to succeed him on the throne; allowing, however, precedence to any children to which the present queen should give birth. Her stepson, Prince Edward, experienced the most unvarying attention from

Katharine. She took a lively interest in his studies, and incited him to diligence in them by her judicious counsel and example, while he, in return, evinced not only a profound respect, but a warm affection, to his gentle monitress.

But while thus praiseworthy discharging her duties to her royal husband and his offspring in the domestic sphere, Katharine was by no means neglectful of the etiquette and stately grandeur which appertained to her queenly dignity, and which she scrupulously maintained in demeanour, manners, and dress. Calm and reserved, yet gracious, she strictly avoided ever compromising, even in small things, as well as in great, the respect due to the throne. Her dress was not only remarkable for its splendour, but still more so for good taste and attention to its becomingness—a coquetry which is perhaps the only pardonable one in a married woman who wishes to keep alive the admiration of her husband. If Katharine's beauty, which all acknowledged, and her taste in dress, which all approved, excited in the breasts of others the admiration she only sought to maintain in that of her sovereign, the dignified reserve of her manners so effectually precluded all approaches to familiarity, that not even an eye dared indicate, nor a tongue utter a sentiment, less profoundly respectful than was meet to reach the ear of a queen. The jealous Henry, exacting as he was, never found cause for reproof, and must have often been made sensible, by the force of contrast, of the difference between the decorous Queen Katharine and the gay and thoughtless Anne Boleyn, whose levity furnished such weapons to her enemies for her destruction. Her elevation to the throne did not effect any change in the love of study, which had been a peculiar characteristic in Katharine from her early youth; nor did this love of grave studies prevent her from those feminine occupations with the needle to which learned women are seldom prone. She is said to have excelled in embroidery, and to have left many proofs of her rare skill in it. The address of Katharine succeeded in maintaining her influence over the bluff Henry—a fact proved by his appointing her regent during his expedition against France in 1544, and leaving the heir to the crown and the two princesses solely in her charge. The king had previously elevated some of Katharine's near relatives to the peerage; her brother he created Earl of Essex and Marquis of Northampton, and on her uncle, Lord Parr, he bestowed the office of lord chamberlain. Indeed, to all her relatives was the king's favour extended, in compliance with her wishes; for she was extremely

attached to them. The Earl of Hertford was appointed by Henry to take up his abode in the royal palace with the queen-regent during the king's absence—a proof that Henry had conceived no suspicion of Katharine's former attachment to Sir Thomas Seymour, the younger brother of Lord Hertford; otherwise, with his jealous tendency, he would not have furnished occasion, by the residence of the earl in the same house with the queen, for more familiar intercourse with Sir Thomas.

It was probably during Henry's expedition that Katharine wrote the work entitled "*The Lamentations of a Sinner*," which has acquired her such celebrity; for, notwithstanding its brevity, it certainly displays remarkable ability and great theological learning, mixed with lavish flattery of the king.

The regency of Katharine offers nothing remarkable. If courtiers could find no subject on which to lavish their compliments to her, her enemies could find no basis for blame, the best proof of the prudence and caution with which she exercised the power confided to her; and Henry found on his return, after the surrender of Boulogne, a wife as submissive as before, and anxious to resign her high office into his firmer hands, glad to be released from the heavy responsibility, of which, however, she had proved herself so worthy. The appointment of Sir Thomas Seymour to the office of gentleman of the king's privy chamber, by bringing him into immediate contact with the royal household, must have been painful, if not trying, to the feelings of Katharine. To be exposed to behold daily one whom she had for the first and only time of her life loved, must have reminded her of hopes of happiness crushed when they were the brightest; and the fear of her fond remembrance being revealed, even by a glance, either to her jealous husband or her former lover, must have often haunted her. Henry had now grown as frightful in person as he was in mind. His obesity had increased to a degree that rendered him a moving mass of bloated infirmities, offering a remarkable contrast to the handsome and brilliant object of her first affection. If Katharine felt this, she so well concealed it, that never could the prying eyes of those around her discover aught to draw even the slightest suspicion of her former preference to their minds.

Although certainly the most esteemed, if not the most passionately loved, of Henry's queens, Katharine Parr was never crowned. Motives of economy, and not any want of respect, were the cause of this omission in her case, an omission of etiquette at which she was too prudent to experience any regret, being well acquainted with the difficulties

under which the royal finances were then labouring, and which compelled Henry to have recourse to his parliament for relief.

Had Katharine been vain of her erudition, she must have been gratified by the high opinion entertained of her acquirements by no less grave and learned a body than the university of Cambridge, as testified by a letter from that college addressed to her in Latin, entreating her protection with the king, when they dreaded, and not without reason, that he meant to take advantage of the license granted by parliament, to possess himself of the incomes of colleges for his own use, and that, consequently, Cambridge would share the general fate which menaced all others. Katharine's pleadings in favour of this university were successful, and there is a charming mixture of *naïveté* with well-acted modesty in the letter in which she announced to the learned body that it had nothing to fear from the king, and the gravity with which, while renouncing all pretension to erudition, she delivers her advice on the studies to be professed and pursued by the students. This letter, like all others written by her after her elevation to the throne, contains such flattering and dexterous compliments to the king, as indicate her tact and fear of exciting any jealousy in him by aught that could be deemed a pretension to the learning which he was ambitious to obtain credit for, and which had acquired for him the unmerited title of Defender of the Faith, a title to which Katharine had infinitely a better claim by her own writings, and by the encouragement she afforded to the translation of the scriptures.

Heavy days had now fallen on the king, who bore them not more patiently, because increasing infirmity had long heralded their approach. The great obesity, which had for a considerable period rendered exercise a painful if not an impracticable exertion, now turned to a dropsy, which precluded even a change of posture without aid, while the torture inflicted by the ulceration in one of his legs left him no repose. It was now that Henry learned truly to appreciate the obedient wife and gentle nurse, who watched by his couch, and soothed, if she could not mitigate, his sufferings. Her delicate hand alone applied the remedies recommended by the medical attendants, and dressed the disgusting wound, a task at which even a menial might have shuddered. Her mild and cheerful temper suggested, and her sweet voice whispered words of hope and comfort, when the past had assumed the power of stinging her husband with remorse, the present had become insupportable, and the dread future appalled him.

The selfishness of Henry led to his according an increased and

increasing favour to the tender nurse on whom he now depended for all the ease and earthly consolation he could still hope for ; and this growing favour alarmed the jealousy of those who wished to confine all influence over their sovereign to themselves. To destroy this sole blessing left to Henry in his infirmities, was the fixed aim of these ambitious men ; but how to accomplish this object against one so blameless as Katharine, puzzled even them, although their brains were fertile in schemes for mischief. The adoption and firm adherence of the queen to the reformation furnished the only chance for the success of their project to injure her. Henry, when he abjured the supremacy of the pope, did it to carry out his own views, and was much more influenced by worldly than spiritual motives. He wished that his subjects should transfer to him the implicit devotion they had previously yielded to the pope, and was disposed to resent, as little short of treason, and to punish with the utmost severity, any dissent from his own creed, which, while it rejected certain portions of the dogmas of the ancient faith, retained all its bigotry and fanaticism. Hence, urged on no less by his own aversion to the slightest appeal from his opinion on religious as well as on other subjects, than by those who were inimical to the queen, he declared his intention of visiting with the heaviest penalties all those who presumed to entertain opinions at all differing from his own in points of faith. How far the grievous state of his body might have influenced his mind on this occasion, is for those to reflect on who are disposed to find an excuse for his indomitable tyranny, which, not content with governing the lives of his subjects in this world, sought to interfere with their hopes of another and a better. To attack the queen openly would have been too bold a measure for the wily men who sought her destruction ; they therefore first turned their attention to a person in whom she was supposed to feel a strong interest, and from whom they anticipated that the blow aimed might rebound to the queen. Anne Askew, a youthful and fair matron of gentle blood and of no inconsiderable erudition, had adopted the tenets which Katharine was more than suspected of favouring, if not maintaining, and had been in consequence expelled from the conjugal roof by her bigoted husband. Repudiated by him, she devoted herself to the extension of the religion she had professed, and by so doing had attracted the notice and increased the displeasure of those opposed to it. It became known that the queen had accepted books written in support of the new faith from this lady, and on this circumstance it was hoped that a charge could be grounded against

her for the reading of prohibited works, the penalties for which were then very severe.

Anne Askew, the unfortunate victim of these persecutions, underwent many species of torture to extort from her some acknowledgment that might implicate the queen; but her firmness of character defeated the hope of Katharine's enemies, and none of the cruelties practised on her could wring from her a single admission that could injure the queen. Even to the last act of the tragedy—her terrible death, when the flames encircled her tortured frame, the heroic victim maintained her constancy; and those who beheld her martyrdom were so struck by the seraphic expression of her countenance, that they proclaimed that she had already begun to reap the reward of her virtue by her triumph over physical agony, owing to her thoughts being elevated to that Heaven in which she had won a place.

Secret information had been given to the king that the Lady Herbert, sister of the queen, was much addicted to the study of prohibited works on religion, and this information, joined to the sole imprudence of which Katharine could be charged, awakened the enmity of the cruel and moody tyrant. The imprudence to which we refer is, the queen's having occasionally entered upon controversial subjects, which, although maintained on her part with perfect good temper, and an avoidance of aught which might be deemed offensive to the king, had, nevertheless, displeased him. The not adopting *his* opinions on all subjects was a sin of deep dye in his eyes, but the advocating her own was deemed an unpardonable one. He expressed his dissatisfaction in the presence of the Bishop of Winchester, one of Katharine's bitterest enemies; and he, emboldened by this encouragement, ventured to disclose all that his enmity could suggest to the disadvantage of the queen, expressing, at the same time, his wonder that she dared to oppose one allowed by all to be so well versed and deeply grounded in theological points as the king. Thus, by the most lavish flattery, he increased Henry's overweening vanity, and awakened his ire that any one dared to wound it, and so effectually did the wily prelate work on the worst feelings of his master, even going so far as to accuse the queen of evil intentions towards him, that Henry yielded to persuasion that articles of impeachment against her, and all the ladies of the court whom she most trusted, should be drawn up; that the most rigid search should be made in their apartments, in order to discover some books or papers that might serve to implicate the queen, who was to be arrested and conveyed to the Tower. These articles,

with the order for her arrest, to which her life might be the sacrifice, were fortunately dropped, accidentally, in the palace, by Chancellor Wriothesley, after Henry had affixed his signature to them, and were found by one of the queen's household, who immediately delivered them to her. Unsuspicious of the danger that menaced her life, the discovery which now burst on her must have filled Katharine with a terror and dismay, which the consciousness of her own innocence of any crime could not dispel. The shock brought on a severe illness, during the paroxysms of which Henry's hard heart relented, and he condescended to visit her, for which favour she expressed such gratitude that he was moved; and when, the following day, the queen visited him in his chamber, he so well concealed his displeasure as to treat her with great kindness. Nevertheless, he introduced the subject of religion, on which, had not Katharine been warned, she might have sealed her own doom, by once more maintaining the arguments which had previously angered him. But now, on her guard, she assumed such an entire submission to his sentiments, and so judiciously flattered his self-love, by admitting his superior knowledge and wisdom on all matters, that he became disarmed, and upon her artfully declaring that when she had previously pretended to dissent from his opinions, it was solely to turn away his thoughts from his bodily ailments, and to acquire some portion of the vast knowledge in which he so far excelled all others, he embraced her with renewed affection, forgetful that, but a few days before, he had signed the order for her arrest, a preface in all human probability to one for her death. Henry's anger fell heavily on those who had planned the destruction of Katharine, which they never would have dared to do, had he not encouraged it by censuring her in their presence in a moment of petulance; and, no sooner had her well-timed submission and adroit flattery restored her to his favour, than he visited on others the blame, of which conscience might have told him he merited even a larger share than they. Katharine never revealed to the king her knowledge of the danger she had incurred, a great prudence on her part; nay more, when Henry bitterly reproached the Lord Chancellor, calling him by the most opprobrious names, she endeavoured to mollify his anger, and to plead for her enemy, without appearing to know how or why he had displeased his sovereign. The Bishop of Winchester, the mover of the plot against the queen, Henry would no more see, and ever after spoke of him in terms of hatred.

It must have been a difficult task for Katharine to conceal from her

capricious and cruel husband the dread and insecurity under which she laboured from the hour in which she discovered how nearly she had approached the terrible fate to which he had doomed her. Her life after this must have been, during the remainder of his, an unceasing scene of anxiety, distrust, and circumspection. She must have trembled, lest the utterance of a sentiment, or even a word, might excite the king's anger, and risk the uncertain tenure by which she held existence. Nevertheless, she continued as tender a nurse and as cheerful a companion as if she knew no dread, and Henry's affection and confidence in her was for the time restored. How loathsome must the proofs of this rekindled fondness have been to its object, may easily be imagined, when the state of the king's bodily suffering and mental anxiety are considered. With a blotched person, that rendered every movement not only impracticable, but even the attempt a torture, and an ulcerated leg that exhaled the most offensive odour, the queen must have thought a crown dearly purchased at the price of sitting day and night by his couch, during the tedious time that intervened, before his death released her from so heavy a trial. His temper, always bad, became insupportable as he approached his end, and cruelty, with him an instinct, increased as the time drew near when he could no longer exercise its dictates. His dying hours were fraught with horror, offering a fearful lesson of the results of an ill spent life.

If we may credit the statements of more than one of his historians, Henry, when death overtook him, was on the point of bringing a fresh charge against his queen for heresy, but these statements appear almost too terrible for belief, except that, like the eastern tyrants, whom in many points he resembled, he might wish that the object of his gross love should not survive him, and therefore decided to doom her to death when he could no longer hope to retard his own departure from life.

That Katharine could have had no suspicion of Henry's last intention to destroy her, is proved by her unfeigned surprise and disappointment, when his will was made known to her, on finding that she had not been appointed to the regency nor intrusted with the care of the youthful Edward. Her annoyance on this occasion betrays that ambition still lived in her breast, notwithstanding that she had seen enough, Heaven knows, to have revealed the worthlessness of the fulfilment of its highest yearnings. The affection always professed towards her by the youthful sovereign must have led her to believe that she might still retain a powerful influence over him, but the Earl of

Hertford, who had determined to take charge of his nephew, allowed no opportunities to the queen to cultivate the affection of which she imagined she had sown the seeds too carefully to doubt a plentiful harvest.

Perhaps the hope of gaining access to the youthful king may have induced Katharine to violate all etiquette, in receiving the vows of her former suitor, Sir Thomas Seymour, ere yet the grave had closed over her royal husband. Sir Thomas was the younger brother of the Earl of Hertford, now become Duke of Somerset, who held full power over the king; and as Sir Thomas was also uncle to the sovereign, and had been appointed one of the regency till the king's majority, Katharine might naturally enough have thought that through this connexion she might again be brought in contact with Edward. Whatever might be the motive, certain it is that she had many private interviews, and at night too, with her admirer, who plied his suit so perseveringly, that in little more than four months from the death of Henry she bestowed on him her hand. The imprudence of the secret interviews between Katharine and Seymour, followed by their nuptials so long before etiquette or even decency could tolerate such a step, seems the more unaccountable when the extreme prudence and discretion of Katharine, through all her previous life, is remembered, and that she had now arrived at the mature age of thirty-five, a period at which passion is supposed to have less influence than in youth. Katharine must have been well aware that her marriage so soon after her widowhood would be deemed wrong, for it was kept concealed for some time; and she rendered herself liable to the charge of duplicity, by addressing, after she had wedded Seymour secretly, and during the early days of her marriage, a letter to the king, filled with expressions of affection to his late father. Conscious of the censures that she had incurred, Katharine is suspected of having advised Seymour to enlist the king's sympathies in their favour, and to induce the unsuspecting Edward to plead for his uncle with her, after that uncle's suit had been rewarded with her hand. Certain it is that Edward wrote to her to advise the marriage, and to promise his protection to the pair. He wished to contract it some weeks after it had been secretly solemnised; an artifice which, if really planned by her, was not creditable on the part of Katharine, whose previous good conduct could not have prepared the world for this change.

These untoward nuptials furnished an excuse to Somerset, of which he readily availed himself, to denounce, with the utmost severity, the

ill-assorted marriage of his brother. Fearful of the influence which the queen and her husband might acquire over the king, to the injury of his own power, he loudly censured Seymour, and refused to allow Katharine the possession of the valuable jewels bestowed on her by Henry during his lifetime. She was debarred access to the king, and the protector now treated her with an unceremonious want of courtesy, and even of justice, that must have goaded her to anger, by intimating that when she condescended to become his sister-in-law, he ceased to consider her a queen. But it was not the ambition alone of Somerset, although that was a potent motive for his ill-treatment of Katharine and his brother, which induced him to betray such enmity to them. A dislike had long subsisted between the queen and the wife of the protector, which now, no longer concealed on the part of the latter by respect for the station of the former, broke loose from all constraint. The Duchess of Somerset had the insolence not only to refuse to pay those honours to the queen which she had hitherto, as in duty bound, accorded to her, but positively pretended to take precedence of her. The slights and affronts offered to Katharine by her sister-in-law, and the injustice committed towards her by the protector, could be ill brooked by one who had shared a throne, and who was by no means deficient in pride and spirit. The sense of these annoyances must have been bitterly aggravated by Katharine's consciousness that she had drawn them on herself by her ill-advised and indecorous marriage with the object of her former flame ; and being, soon after her nuptials, declared, in a state that gave promise of her becoming in due time a mother, the anxiety and indignation to which she was often made a prey must have greatly tended to impair her health.

Nor were these the sole trials and annoyances to which Katharine was exposed. Some infinitely more fatal to her domestic happiness assailed her. The Princess Elizabeth had resided with her since the death of Henry, as well as previously, and the familiarity to which a daily intercourse seldom fails to lead, by degrees became so marked between Seymour and the princess, as to occasion great pain to the queen. Elizabeth, a lively and attractive girl of fifteen, was a dangerous temptation to have continually before the eyes of a man at all times more disposed to yield than to resist it ; and although no more blameable impropriety than romping may have ever been contemplated by Seymour, the evident pleasure it afforded him wounded her who had sacrificed so much to become his wife, and who, now in a state that demanded his affectionate attentions, found

that her husband preferred a game of romps, often verging on, if not passing, the bounds of propriety, with her youthful step-daughter, to a *tête-à-tête* with herself. It appears quite clear that, however Katharine might at first have permitted these indecorous familiarities between her husband and the Princess Elizabeth, they at length excited her jealousy, and she endeavoured to check them. Finding this more difficult than she had anticipated, she took measures for the removal of the princess from her house. This step was fortunately carried into effect without any disagreeable words, or aught approaching a misunderstanding on either side; and a friendly intercourse was maintained between Katharine and the princess, by letter, up to the death of the queen.

In August, 1548, the queen gave birth to a daughter, and, seven days after, resigned her life, not without strong suspicions having been excited that her husband had hastened that event, owing to his attachment to the Princess Elizabeth, to whose hand he presumed to lift his eyes. The suspicion of this iniquitous conduct on the part of Seymour was founded on some vague reproaches uttered by Katharine in the presence of her attendants, and probably when in the delirium of the violent fever which caused her death. Those around her saw nothing in the manner of her husband to justify suspicion of his guilt. He was watchful and affectionate to her; and the vague reproaches she uttered might be easily explained by the well-known proneness of all persons under the influence of delirium to accuse those most dear to them of unkindness, even while receiving proofs of the utmost tenderness and care.

The fate of Katharine's husband, Lord Thomas Seymour, is well known to the readers of history. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, March 20th, 1549, on a charge of endeavouring to supplant his elder brother, the Duke of Somerset, in the office of guardian to the king. Thus he perished only six months and fourteen days after Katharine's death. His ambitious brother, also at a later day, fell by the same fate. It has generally been supposed that the child of Lord Thomas and Queen Katharine, Mary Seymour, died unmarried; but Miss Strickland has satisfactorily shown that this was not the case. After having been stripped of her hereditary property, she married Sir Edward Bushel, and from her are descended the Lawsons of Clevedon and Hereford.

reached a perfection of womanhood, which the solemn circumstances of her early death stamped with an immortality of admiration, and made her a model to her sex at once noble, beautiful, and worthy of imitation, from the purity with which she lived, and the greatness with which she died.

Lady Jane was not only of a high, but an ancient lineage. She was descended from Rollo, chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, who is said to have obtained from that prince the castle of Croy, in Picardy: hence the name corrupted into Grey. From this root spring the numerous branches of the Grey family; the Greys of Groby, of Wilton, and Ruthyn. We may, however, shorten the long genealogy, and descend at once to the individual who first attracted much notice from the historian. This was John de Grey, the son and heir of Lord Grey of Groby, who married Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, created Earl of Rivers, on Elizabeth, in her widowhood, marrying Edward the Fourth.

The family of the Greys now rose into sudden notice and importance. No queen who ever sat on the throne of England so zealously and perseveringly advanced all her relatives to the utmost possible pitch of worldly rank and greatness, both by using the favour of the monarch, and by matching them with the members of great aristocratic houses. Elizabeth's first husband, John de Grey, was slain at the battle of St. Alban's; and, as recorded in her life, it was in the act of soliciting the king to restore the confiscated property of her two sons, Thomas and Richard, that she made such an impression on the susceptible heart of Edward, as led to her advancement to the throne. The eldest son, Thomas, became, by succession to his father's title, Lord Grey of Groby, and was created by his father-in-law, Edward the Fourth, in 1471, Earl of Huntingdon; but he afterwards resigned this title, and was created Marquis of Dorset in 1475. His son and heir, Henry Grey, was not only Marquis of Dorset, but Baron of Ferrers, Groby, Astley, Bonville, and Harrington. He may be considered, in point of rank, as one of the most powerful noblemen of his time. In the first year of the reign of his kinsman, Edward the Sixth, he was constituted lord high constable of that monarch's coronation, and elected knight of the garter. In 1550, the fourth year of that reign, he was appointed justice itinerant of all the king's forests; and, in the next year, warder of the east, west, and middle marshes towards Scotland. His ascent in rank and power did not stop here. In early life he married Katharine Fitzalan, daughter of the Earl of

Arundel, and she dying without issue, he again married, and this time to a near connexion of the king, namely, Lady Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, widow of Louis the Twelfth of France, second daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and youngest sister of King Henry the Eighth. It was impossible in a subject to mount nearer to the throne itself. His wife was daughter of a queen of France, grand-daughter of Henry the Seventh, and niece of Henry the Eighth. In consequence of this alliance, he was created Duke of Suffolk, his wife's brothers and sisters having died without children.

Of this nobleman, Lady Jane Grey was the eldest daughter. She was thus born in the highest possible rank of a subject, and, as it proved in those times, in a most giddy and dangerous eminence. The reigning monarch, in his tenth year, was her first cousin, only once removed. He was surrounded by ambitious courtiers, amongst whom her father held a most conspicuous place, and, as the king approached manhood, whether he lived or died, the desperate attempts at securing the chief influence in his court was pretty certain to place a young lady of Jane's beauty, talents, and position, in the very centre of the perilous vortex of ambitious intrigue. As it happened, Lady Jane was held in readiness by her relatives to become his queen, if he arrived at years of maturity, and on its becoming clear that the failing health of the young monarch rendered this impossible—equally ready to succeed him. From her very birth, Lady Jane, formed by nature to adorn domestic life by the exercise of the highest virtues and talents, was destined by her connexions to become the victim of their ambition.

Lady Jane Grey is supposed to have been born about the year 1537, at Bridgate Park, a seat of her father's, a few miles from Leicester. The estate still remains in the family, and the ruins of the house, still standing in the ancient park, are visited with deep reverence by thousands who have in their youth read with lively emotion the sad story of this extraordinary woman. The education of Lady Jane appears to have been commenced early, and carefully prosecuted. Her principal preceptors are said to have been John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, and the celebrated Roger Ascham. She is said to have made great progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian. We cannot suppose, however, that at her age she could have mastered half of these languages so far as her eulogists would lead us to infer. There can, nevertheless, be no doubt but that her acquirements were far beyond those of ladies generally, and

infinitely beyond the usual attainments of such a tender age. In Latin, Greek, and French, she was assuredly well versed, and had read with a judgment and reflection, worthy of the maturest years, the best authors in those languages. Her taste for those studies was naturally strengthened by the severity of her treatment in her own family, as we learn from her own confession to Roger Ascham on that visit to Bradgate already alluded to.

"How came you, madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure?" asked Ascham; "and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?"

"I will tell you," she replied, "and tell you a truth which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is, that He sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad,—be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, bobs, and other ways, which I will not mention for the honour I bear them; so without measure disordered, that I think myself in hell till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, and with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him; and when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatever I do else but learning is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking to me. And thus my book hath been so much pleasure, and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles to me."

This harsh and bitter treatment under the domestic roof speaks but little for the sagacity or amiability of her parents, and furnishes us with a key to the submission of Lady Jane to those parents and those who assumed the authority of relatives, even in that last fatal transaction when she assumed the crown in strongest opposition to her own will. The powerful influence of habit as well as a generous desire to save her nearest connexions from the consequences of their ambitious policy, undoubtedly aided greatly in bringing her head to the block.

Perhaps some of the pleasantest days of Lady Jane's childhood were passed in the society and under the care of Queen Katharine Parr, whose serious and religious mind seems to have delighted in the budding genius and the deep piety of this lovely and intellectual girl.

We have evidence of her being with Katharine Parr both before and subsequent to that queen's marriage with Lord Seymour of Sudely, the lord admiral, and brother of Protector Somerset.

Though Lady Jane was at this period but eleven years of age, her proximity to the throne, combined with her beauty and talents, had arrested the attention of those who hoped to profit by them. The lord admiral, who married a queen-dowager, and who gave unmistakable signs of an audacious hope of marrying the Princess Elizabeth, who had even at that period a very probable chance of succession to the crown of England, was a man full of plottings and speculations of the most daring character. To secure a strong hold on his nephew Edward the Sixth, and wrest him from the equally selfish grasp of his brother Somerset, Seymour had thus early fixed on Lady Jane Grey as the future consort of the young king. He had not merely planned this, but he had bargained with her father for the right of disposing of her hand. Whether, therefore, Lady Jane were residing with Queen Katharine before Lord Seymour conceived these designs, or whether she was invited to her majesty's house in consequence of his suggestions, nothing can be clearer than that he must have regarded her being there as a circumstance most auspicious to his projects.

Queen Katharine died at Hanworth, in 1548, while Lady Jane was still with her; and the Marquis of Dorset, her father, demanded her return home soon after, very properly considering that the parental oversight was much more desirable for her than the society of a man of the lord admiral's calculating, and yet assuming and rash, character. In consequence of this demand, Lady Jane returned to her parents; but Lord Seymour did not long rest satisfied without her being permitted to return to him. Mr. Howard, in his "Lady Jane Grey and her Times," has cited a paper, written by the Marquis of Dorset, in which, after the trial and execution of Lord Seymour, the marquis endeavours to justify to the protector his having allowed his daughter to be under the care of Seymour. He declares that it was his determination not to have allowed his daughter to return to Seymour after the queen-dowager's death, "but that he was so earnest in persuading him, that he could not resist him; amongst which persuasions was, that he would marry her to the king's majesty!" To induce the Marquis of Dorset to comply with this request, he promised to lend

girlhood, made the object of ambitious speculation by these upstart Seymours, both brothers being equally anxious to secure her for the completion of their plans. Lord Seymour was ready to marry her to the young king, or, failing that, to marry her himself; thus bringing himself into the track of a chance for the throne. His brother, the lord protector, was no whit behind him in plans touching Lady Jane; for Mr. Howard quotes a letter from the Marquis of Dorset to the lord protector, in which it comes out that Somerset himself was in treaty for Lady Jane, for his son, the Earl of Hertford. Being severed from the schemes of those unprincipled brothers by their successive deaths by the axe, Lady Jane fell into the toils of another still more upstart and unprincipled adventurer, Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and perished as the victim of his treason.

While these daring players for the stake of the crown of England were thus building their insolent projects on the alliance of Lady Jane, she was prosecuting, as if wholly unconscious of them, her studies and philosophical inquiries with the profoundest pleasure to herself, and to the fame of her talents and goodness throughout Europe. Her Latin letters to Henry Bullinger, one of the most distinguished religious reformers of the age, still remain, and bear ample testimony to the elegance of her latinity, and the solid and far-seeing qualities of her mind, at the age of fourteen. They read not like the letters of a mere girl, but of a woman of mature years, full of experience and of the most conscientious and heartfelt interest in the progress and purification of the Church.

In October, 1551, her father was raised by Edward the Sixth to the dignity of the dukedom of Suffolk, vacant by the death of Henry Brandon, without issue; and on the same day John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland. The fates were spinning in these ducal creations the deadly web of her own early destruction.

This John Dudley was unquestionably the most rank and rapid fungus-growth of the extraordinary adventurers of that age. Who, indeed, was this towering Duke of Northumberland? In the reign of Henry the Seventh there figured conspicuously two tools of that avaricious king, far above all others in the vileness of their rapacity. These two were the scoundrel lawyers, Empson and Dudley. They were the king's agents for extorting money by any means from his subjects. Lord Bacon says:—"As kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour, he

had gotten for his purpose these two instruments, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers ; bold men and careless of fame, that took toll of their master's grist ; nay, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. They charged the owners of estates, which had long been held on a different tenure, with the obsolete burdens of wardships, liveries, premier seizins, and the whole array of feudal obligations, for which they would only give quittances for payment in money : they not only converted every offence into a case of fine and profit, but invented new offences to get fines ; to hunt up their game, they kept packs of spies and informers in every part of the kingdom, and, to strike it down with legal forms, they kept a rabble to sit on juries. At length, they did not observe so much as the half-face of justice . they arrested men by precept, and tried them by jury in their own private houses. These and other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people, both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves, insomuch that they grew to great riches and substance."

The people were excited to desperation by these villanies ; and one of the very first acts of Henry the Eighth was to appease the popular fury by the arrest of these arch rogues, and, after a year's confinement in the Tower, striking off their heads.

Such was Dudley and his infamous companion Empson. They had their heads taken off ; but the people's property which they had embezzled remained in their families, and Dudley's son by its means rose to an extraordinary height, and made a snatch at the crown : he fell, and many of his family with him ; yet we find his grandson, Robert Dudley, by his handsome exterior, captivating Queen Elizabeth, and made Earl of Leicester. When we read of the unprincipled deeds of Leicester, of the atrocious murder of his wife, and other acts which deserved a halter, we have only to remember the stock whence he sprung, and our astonishment ceases.

It was now the evil fortune of Lady Jane Grey to fall the sacrifice to the base ambition of Dudley, the son of the extortioner. The times had favoured the upward flight of many meaner birds of prey. The minority of the king had allowed them to get into his council ; and once there, they conferred on each other estates and the very highest titles with a lavish hand. By such means Dudley, the son of a man of such evil fame, stood in the royal presence clothed with the ancient dignity of the dukedom of Northumberland. The time was fast approaching for him to develope the full audacity of his nature. He

began to cast his eyes on the innocent beauty of Lady Jane Grey, and to plan how he might by her mount even to the throne itself, if not for himself, yet for his family. The king's health was delicate ; Mary, his sister, was a catholic ; there was only Elizabeth betwixt Lady Jane and the crown if a protestant was to wear it. The temptation was too great for a man who had never shrunk from any crime which stood in the path of his aggrandisement.

Lady Jane was yet but fourteen, but she had made her public appearance at court in her mother's train when on the occasion of the visit of Mary, queen-dowager of Scotland, to the king at Greenwich, she shortly afterwards became the guest of the Princess Mary. Fox recites an anecdote that occurred during her visit, which conspicuously displays the quickness of Lady Jane's wit. She was invited by Lady Anne Wharton to accompany her in a walk, and passing in their road the princess's chapel, Lady Anne made the customary obeisance of a catholic to a place of worship, from the Host always being contained therein. Lady Jane, not comprehending the object of her respect, asked if the Princess Mary were in the chapel ; and was answered, " No, but that she had made her curtsy to Him that made us all." " How can He be there that made us all," ingeniously observed Lady Jane, " when the baker made him ? "

" This answer," says Fox, " coming to the Lady Mary's ears, she did never love her after."

Lady Jane had made powerful enemies by her faith and her too candid tongue ; but the worst enemy which she had was Dudley. This man was clearing his way of obstacles in his designs on the throne, and he now resolved to root up and destroy the most formidable of them all. This was the Duke of Somerset, the king's uncle. Somerset had resigned his protectorship three years before ; but while he lived and had access to the king, there could be no success for Dudley's ulterior views. At his instigation, therefore, Somerset was arrested in October, 1542, tried and condemned on charges of high treason in December, and on January 22nd, 1553, he was executed on Tower-hill. Dudley had done all in his power to steel the heart of Edward against his uncle, and spite of all natural relentings of the weak youth, and of the lively grief of the people, he had accomplished his object.

The constitution of the king was now fast giving way. He had been attacked both by measles and small-pox, and while suffering under the debility they occasioned, he took a severe cold at the commencement of the year 1553, that is, immediately on the death of

his uncle Somerset. No time was to be lost. Dudley now proposed a match between his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and *Lady Jane*. This effected, he immediately began to play on Edward's weakness and his anxiety for the preservation of the protestant cause. Henry the Eighth had left the crown to Edward, and failing issue, to Mary, and after her, in case she died without issue, to *Elizabeth*. Dudley now represented the certain destruction of protestantism, should Mary ascend the throne; and succeeded with the king in setting her aside. Elizabeth was protestant, and here lay Dudley's grand difficulty; but he represented to the dying king, that to pass over Mary, and to adopt Elizabeth, would to the people have such an air of injustice as would make the change odious, and probably endanger its success altogether. Dudley, therefore, proposed to revive the statutes of Henry the Eighth, which had declared both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate, and pass on to the next heir. This, he represented, was his true protestant cousin, *Lady Jane Grey*. This was not the truth; for the next heir to the crown would, in case of the disqualification of the two princesses, have been Mary, Queen of Scots, the descendant of the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth.

But the dying king was in no condition to weigh carefully points of genealogy. His great concern was for protestantism, and that Dudley assured him was bound up with the succession of *Lady Jane*. He gained his point with the expiring Edward, but not so easily with the lords of the council. To them the aim of Dudley was so apparent, and the procedure, as it regarded their own sanction, so perilous, that they protested boldly and vehemently against the measure. Dudley was compelled to use both menaces and flattery. Sir Edward Montague, the chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Thomas Baker, Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the other judges; and the attorney and solicitor-general, being summoned before the council and commanded to draw up the intended instrument in the form of letters patent, declined so responsible an act. They stated truly, that the settlement as arranged by Henry the Eighth was confirmed by act of parliament, that nothing but parliament could reverse it, and advised an immediate summons of that assembly. This, however, would have ill suited Dudley's plans; and the judges remaining obstinate, he is reported to have called Montague a traitor, and declared that he would fight any man in his shirt, in so just a cause as the succession of *Lady Jane*. Montague then proposed that the king and council should by special commission require the judges to draw up a patent for the new settle-

wiles of ambition, and beyond this, female fortitude could not be expected to go." And Sir Harris Nicolas adds, that "A motive to her acquiescence more powerful than any that have been hitherto attributed to her, is to be found in the reflection which must have occurred to her of the imminent danger in which those nearest to her heart were placed, and which nothing but her possession of royalty could avert. The failure of a treasonable plot never fails to produce the destruction of those who created it, and she might expect that the hour which saw Mary secure on the throne, would be the last of the existence of her father and the father of her husband. This dreadful truth naturally induced her to adopt the only step which could possibly secure their safety. Her character thus appears in a new and more lovely light : we see her thus consenting to incur the utmost personal peril, by adopting a course contrary to the dictates of her conscience, in the desperate hope of preserving her family."

Her consent thus extorted, she was the next day conveyed by Dudley, her father-in-law, with great state to the Tower, and immediately afterwards proclaimed Queen of England.

The result justified the fears of both Lady Jane and the privy-council. Her proclamation was heard in silence and with regret. The council had ordered it to be made throughout the country ; but they were obeyed only in London and its neighbourhood, and there with evident reluctance.

The Princess Mary lost no time in asserting her claim. She wrote to the privy-council claiming the crown, and expressing her surprise that the demise of her brother had not been duly notified to her. This done, she fled with all speed to Suffolk, and secured herself in Framlingham Castle, where she raised the royal standard, and assumed the royal title. The answer of the council, under the dictation of Dudley, was one of studied insult ; and the pure-minded Lady Jane was compelled to see letters written in her name to, and concerning, the rightful heiress of the throne, in which Mary is treated as the "bastard daughter" of Henry the Eighth, and all true lieges are called upon to resist her "feigned and untrue claim." It is impossible to conceive a situation more agonising and humiliating than that of Lady Jane Grey at this moment. She was compelled to be in the wrong, and to insult and do violence to the right. She felt that all justice, honour, and virtue were against her ; that conscience and heaven were opposed to the claims set up in her name ; and that the condemnation of the world and posterity were inevitable. What a martyrdom for

ment of the crown, accompanied by a pardon for any offence they might have committed by obeying the mandate. This satisfied the council and some of the judges ; but the chancellor refused to affix the great seal to the instrument till the judges had previously signed it. All, under the effect of promises or menaces, signed it, but Judge Hales, who, though a protestant, steadily refused. Still the chancellor refused to affix the great seal until all the privy-councillors had signed it ; and this too Northumberland was able to accomplish.

Such were the difficulties through which Dudley had to force this obnoxious act. Nothing could in its nature be more opposed to the pure and virtuous character of Lady Jane Grey : nothing could be more revolting than to see so noble and unworldly a character thus involved in the ambitious schemes of a bold bad man like Dudley. When, therefore, he announced to her on the king's decease that she was Queen of England, so far from being elated, she received the news with the greatest sorrow. She resolutely refused the proffered dignity, urging with no less sense than justice, the rights of her cousins, Mary and Elizabeth. She declared, as Heylin says, half-drowned in tears, that the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king's sister, she would beware of burdening her weak conscience with a yoke that did not belong to it ; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre ; that it were to mock God and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. And she added, with a full sense of the real jeopardy of the enterprise, " If I now permit Fortune to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces."

Such we may receive as the honest and deliberate resolve of Lady Jane ; but what was the chance of resistance to the overbearing will of Dudley in a girl of seventeen, whom he had taken care to have wholly in his power. The council, the judges, and the lord chancellor had not been able to maintain their opposition against him, and vain, therefore, was the struggle of this wise and virtuous, but politically weak and unassisted maiden. She could only weep and protest. She stood alone in her righteous resolve. She was a lamb amongst wolves. Her parents, her own immediate relatives, her husband were all united in the alluring but fatal conspiracy against her. They were all impatient to lift themselves to royalty in her name. " Lord Guildford," Mr. Howard remarks, " dazzled by so brilliant a destiny, was prevailed on to add the accents of love to the

wiles of ambition, and beyond this, female fortitude could not be expected to go." And Sir Harris Nicolas adds, that "A motive to her acquiescence more powerful than any that have been hitherto attributed to her, is to be found in the reflection which must have occurred to her of the imminent danger in which those nearest to her heart were placed, and which nothing but her possession of royalty could avert. The failure of a treasonable plot never fails to produce the destruction of those who created it, and she might expect that the hour which saw Mary secure on the throne, would be the last of the existence of her father and the father of her husband. This dreadful truth naturally induced her to adopt the only step which could possibly secure their safety. Her character thus appears in a new and more lovely light : we see her thus consenting to incur the utmost personal peril, by adopting a course contrary to the dictates of her conscience, in the desperate hope of preserving her family."

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Mary, now firmly seated on the throne, showed no vindictive desire to punish her enemies. On the contrary, although Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, with two of his brothers, were formally arraigned and condemned to death, there was no haste made to execute the sentence. The Duke of Suffolk was liberated after three days' imprisonment; and so little was Mary disposed to severity, that she afterwards intended to employ Suffolk to suppress the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate how thoroughly Mary relied on Suffolk's professions of regret for having opposed her claims. She was well aware that Dudley had been the grand mover and compeller of the attempt to set up Lady Jane Grey. She was well aware of the real character of Lady Jane—of the repugnance she had shown to being made the instrument of Northumberland's treason, and of the general sympathy of the people in Lady Jane's unmerited position. There can, therefore, be no doubt but that, had the national affairs now subsided into a calm, the life of Lady Jane would have been spared. But she was destined to perish for the follies and crimes of her relatives.

Mary's cordial reception and support by her people, it is evident, had the best effect on her mind and on those of her counsellors. Though eleven of the coadjutors of Northumberland were condemned to die, two only were executed. But when Mary announced her intention to marry a catholic, Philip of Spain, the scene changed. This was too much for the affections of her people, so lately rescued from the bondage of popery; and the protestant party, under Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent, and Sir Peter Carew in Devon, came forth in arms to oppose it. Still, this would not have affected the safety of Lady Jane Grey, for, as we have noted, Mary, relying on the Duke of Suffolk's newly-protested fidelity, was thinking of putting him at the head of her troops to arrest the approach of Wyatt, when to her consternation she learnt that that infatuated nobleman had fled to the midland counties in the hope of raising them and joining Wyatt and Carew, so as to restore his daughter's claim to the crown. This was the sentence of death to Lady Jane. The queen was still reluctant to sign a warrant for that purpose; but Wyatt having marched on London with 15,000 men, dispersed the forces sent against him, and, reaching London, done stout battle in the streets, and at Charing Cross, within view of the queen herself at Whitehall, it was deemed absolutely necessary that Lady Jane should be executed, to take away all future occasion of rising in her behalf. As Baker, in his "Chronicle,"

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MARY THE FIRST.

QUEEN REGNANT OF ENGLAND

Few queens have encountered during youth so many or such trying vicissitudes as fell to the lot of Mary, the only child of Henry the Eighth and Katharine of Arragon, the first queen-regnant of England. The historians, who would fairly represent the character and conduct of this queen, should take into account the treatment she received at a period of life when it was most calculated to have a bad effect on her. Whether we look back on the splendour and state with which the early years of her childhood were surrounded, or on the sudden reverse from regal magnificence to almost positive privation, to which the reckless caprice of her royal father exposed her, it must be admitted that both were highly detrimental to the formation of her character; and this reflection should serve as an extenuation for many of the faults which in after-life drew on her the censure of historians and the dislike of posterity. Mary entered life at Greenwich Palace on the 18th of February, 1516. Although the birth of a daughter must have been some disappointment to Henry, who so earnestly desired to have a male heir to the throne, he had the good feeling to abstain from revealing it, and received the Princess Mary as graciously as he had done the two sons which the queen had previously presented him, and whose premature deaths had occasioned both their parents so much regret. The royal infant was consigned to the care of the Countess of Salisbury, a lady whose high character equalled her distinguished birth, and proved the wisdom of the queen's selection of her. To Katharine Pole was confided the nurture of the princess, so that no ignoble blood should mingle with that of the royal stream that flowed in her veins, her wet-nurse being in no remote degree connected with the Countess of Salisbury. The splendour of the preparations for the baptism, and the rich gifts presented to the infant, are satisfactory evidence that her birth was known to be gratifying to the king. The ceremony took

The father of Lady Jane Grey, the ultimate cause of her untimely end, was executed on Tower hill on the 23rd of February, 1554, eleven days after his daughter and son-in-law had thus fallen victims to his ambition.

The biographers of Lady Jane have almost universally asserted that she wrote three epigrams—one in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English—on seeing her husband's dead body, but it appears at least doubtful that this was the case. At all events there remains not a shadow of evidence to support the assertion, and it appears as little consonant with her state of feeling at that moment, as possible from the brief and passing instant allowed for it. What is more extraordinary is, that not one of her numerous biographers have told us how and where she was buried, and it is equally extraordinary that no monument of so celebrated a character, or of her husband, should exist. The presumption is, that they were both buried in the chapel of the Tower, but the historian of that fortress has not been able to find any conclusive evidence of the place where their remains were deposited.

Thus, while tombs have been raised of most magnificent character in the vain attempt to perpetuate worthless memories, the ashes of one of the most interesting and injured victims of state policy remain, and probably will remain, for ever lost in the oblivion of unknown earth. Modern researches, however, have discovered one monument of her, of a peculiarly touching nature. It is the words, *Jane, Jane*, carved out rudely as by a nail on the walls of the apartment in the Tower where her husband is supposed to have been confined. In that single word, thus found, there lies more true pathos than in the most elaborate eulogium on the most regal of tombs. It is the lament of bereaved affliction and of sympathy in death over the approaching fate of one who a youth, whose simple beauty, whose talents and whose piety will for ever mingle in the story of her death, and give it an imperishable interest in the hearts of all coming ages.

royalty at Christmas, and on other festivals, was then much practised ; and those presented to the princess by her relatives, sponsors, and the nobility of the court, were very costly ; those offered by her godfather, Cardinal Wolsey, being the most so of all.

Mary had attained her sixth year, when the Emperor Charles the Fifth visited England, and a treaty of marriage was entered into, as stated in the life of Katharine of Arragon. The emperor quitted England, leaving the youthful princess fully impressed with the belief that she was one day to become his bride.

Katharine was most desirous that her daughter should prove worthy of the elevated station she was expected to fill ; and to effect this point she consulted Ludovicus Vives, a man esteemed among the most learned of his time, on the education of the Princess Mary. His instructions bear the evidence not only of his erudition, but of his strict morality ; for he prohibited the perusal of all light books, as calculated to draw her attention from graver ones, and to corrupt her imagination, while he recommended serious and religious works, of which he sent a list. Of the child's natural abilities and application a notion may be formed by the fact, that at eight years old she was able to translate Latin into English with a facility that merited the commendations of her preceptor.

While Mary was pursuing a system of education that left but too little time for the indulgence of the pleasures of childhood—pleasures as necessary for health in the first stage of youth as sunshine is for the expansion of flowers—Henry was beginning to entertain a project that must inevitably lead to the destruction of the treaty, which had in all probability induced the queen to adopt so rigid a code.

The divorce of the mother, the niece of the Emperor of Spain, must, of course, annihilate every prospect of the marriage of the daughter with that sovereign.

But while Henry was meditating the most cruel injury he could inflict on the mother, he was lavishing on his daughter all the gauds of state and all the splendour befitting the heiress of his kingdom. With a character like his, in which dissimulation formed so striking a feature, it may be surmised that this ostentatious exhibition of Mary as the successor to his throne may have originated in a scheme to procure her some advantageous marriage before his divorce. Well aware that the very plea he meant to urge for the attainment of this divorce must, if allowed, destroy her claim to the crown by fixing the stigma of illegitimacy on her birth, it could only be for the purpose of imposing

place at the Grey Friars' church, which was contiguous to the palace in which she was born, three days after her birth, the Princess Katharine Plantagenet and the Duchess of Norfolk serving as her godmothers, and Cardinal Wolsey as her godfather. No ceremonial of regal state was omitted on this solemn occasion. A grand procession, formed of the noblest in the land, accompanied the Countess of Salisbury, who bore the infant to the church, and a guard of knights-banneret encircled it. It was not the sponsors alone who bestowed costly gifts on the Princess Mary, her relations vied with each other in their offerings.

This child, unlike the two infant princes who had preceded her, was extremely healthy. She passed the first two or three years of her life beneath the immediate care of her mother, often caressed by the king, who delighted in fondling her, and taking her in his arms. When Mary was weaned, her wet-nurse, Katharine Pole, was dismissed, and the Lady Margaret Bryan became attached to the nursery-establishment of the young princess; the Countess of Salisbury retaining her appointment of state-governess, and directress of the household, the expenditure of which was wholly confided to her. The establishment was on a princely scale, including a chamberlain, a treasurer, and an accountant, a lady of the bedchamber, a chaplain, a clerk of the closet, and a numerous retinue of domestics of a subordinate grade, maintained at considerable cost. Ditton Park, in Buckinghamshire, was chosen as the residence for the heiress-apparent to the throne, its vicinity to Windsor Castle affording a facility for the child being frequently taken to the queen. So soon had the education of Mary commenced, that when only three years old its fruits were visible in her dignified demeanour, rational remarks, and courteous reception of those permitted to approach her. It is asserted that she played on the virginals with considerable skill at an age when children are supposed to be too young to commence the study of music, and that she acquitted herself to the admiration of her hearers: this last part of the statement may be easily believed, when we consider how prone those admitted to the presence of royalty are to exaggerate the accomplishments attributed to every branch of it. During the absence of Henry and Katharine in France, to grace the Field of the Cloth of Gold, they were furnished with frequent details of the welfare of their daughter by the privy council, who visited her at the palace at Richmond, where she then took up her abode. Mary is described as being, at that period, not only a healthy, but a handsome child, of a lively disposition. The custom of offering rich gifts to

royalty at Christmas, and on other festivals, was then much practised ; and those presented to the princess by her relatives, sponsors, and the nobility of the court, were very costly ; those offered by her godfather, Cardinal Wolsey, being the most so of all.

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on some royal suitor for her hand that he caused her to assume the state in which she lived at Ludlow Castle, where she held a court suitable only to the heiness of the kingdom. How hard and selfish must his heart have been, who, to accomplish the imposition he contemplated, could, careless of its consequences to his only child, elevate her to the high pinnacle of splendour only to hurl her, whenever it suited his convenience, to a state of dependence rendered doubly painful and insupportable by the force of contrast. For nearly two years the Princess Mary held her court at Ludlow Castle, enacting, as far as one of her tender years could do, the stately part of queen, Henry during that period turning his thoughts to finding a husband for her.

It is asserted that had not Francis the First been betrothed to Eleanor of Austria, he might have been induced by the repeated efforts of Henry to wed his daughter, but Francis too well knew the character and *fieri* of the Emperor Charles the Fifth to risk incurring his enmity by breaking off his engagement with his sister.

That Francis was well inclined towards an alliance with England may be judged by his desire that Mary should wed his son, the Duke of Orleans, to effect which marriage negotiations were some months after entered into that occasioned fatal results to Queen Katharine and most painful ones to her daughter, by calling into question the validity of the marriage between Henry and Katharine, and the consequent illegitimacy of the Princess Mary. Whether there was any foundation for the statement that the Bishop of Tarbes, then ambassador from France to the English court, had ever doubted the legitimacy of Mary, may well be questioned, notwithstanding Speed's authority for it, when one reflects on how good an excuse such a doubt would furnish to Henry for seeking a divorce—a measure which he had long secretly contemplated and anxiously desired, and for which he was some time paving the way by hypocritical declarations to his confessor of scruples of conscience, never hinted at until his affection for Katharine was gone, and which, judging from Henry's character, he never really felt. No notion of forming an alliance between Mary and Henry, Duke of Orleans, was ever contemplated by Henry until the Emperor Charles the Fifth had indignantly renounced the fulfilment of his engagement with the princess in consequence of his having discovered, secretly as Henry wished it to be kept, that he intended to divorce Katharine; which proves that it was not the doubt of the Bishop of Tarbes, if indeed he had ever entertained a doubt with regard to the illegitimacy

of Mary; that had instigated the king to such a measure, although such was the pretext made by Henry to allay the just anger of Katharine when she discovered his intention. No diminution of Henry's affection for his daughter appears to have taken place until he discovered that she was so much beloved by the people that they would ill brook seeing her set aside by any new heir to the kingdom. He likewise saw that the princess was so fondly attached to the queen, her mother, that her degradation from the throne would inflict deep sorrow on her daughter. Aught that interfered with the gratification of his own selfish views excited his anger and impatience; hence he began to feel as indisposed towards his daughter as to her mother, and was ready to sacrifice both to the indulgence of his passion and unbridled resentment. Although Henry was urging proceedings for the divorce, he still maintained an appearance of amity with Katharine and their daughter, and no change in the princely state of either was for some time attempted. But this appearance of amity did not long continue. Henry finally parted from Katharine in 1531, and separated the Princess Mary from her mother at a period when each most required the consolation of being together. The letters written by Katharine to her daughter after their separation breathe a spirit of resignation and good sense, mingled with a becoming dignity, that do honour to her character. Out of consideration to the feelings of Mary, which had been so acutely touched as to cause her a long and dangerous illness, she concealed her own sorrow, and affected a cheerfulness which she must have been far from possessing. In vain did the bereaved mother entreat that her child might be permitted to visit her: she was denied this boon, and never more saw the daughter on whom she doted.

The marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn, early in 1533, brought new mortifications to Mary, by making her feel her altered position. She was commanded, on the birth of Elizabeth, henceforth to renounce the title of princess, which was to be given solely to the infant daughter of Anne Boleyn, whom Henry now declared to be heiress to the throne, unless a son should be born to him. But neither commands nor menaces could shake the firmness of Mary, who could not be persuaded to bestow any other appellation on the child than that of "Sister." Those commands, coming through Hussey, her chamberlain, she affected to disbelieve them. Henry did not, however, permit her to continue long in doubt that the order for her removal, as also that of her resigning the title of princess, had emanated from him, for he

sent to her the Duke of Norfolk, and some other noblemen, to see that his commands were carried into effect, at the very time when the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the council, were breaking up her mother's establishment at Bugden.

That Anne Boleyn might be concerned in urging this severity may be strongly suspected, for, as long as Mary was treated as princess, Anne's jealousy may have led her to doubt its endangering the position of her own daughter Elizabeth; and that Anne Boleyn was jealous of Katharine of Arragon and the Princess Mary, was afterwards proved by the indecent joy she exhibited on the death of Katharine, and her late remorse, when, condemned to death, she deplored her unkindness to Mary, and, on her knees, implored pardon for it. But, not satisfied with depriving Mary of her title and establishment, Henry, as ruthless towards his own child as he had proved himself to her mother, determined on legalising his injustice, and had an act of parliament passed, securing the succession to the children of Anne Boleyn. After this step, Mary's establishment being dispersed, she was sent to Hunsdon, where that of her infant sister had now been formed in a style of regal splendour, befitting the heiress to the crown.

A system of *espionage* was practised against Mary at Hunsdon, that proves how narrowly she was watched. Her true friend and relative, the Countess of Salisbury, who, during her infancy, had been a second mother to her, was torn from her. Her coffers were surreptitiously opened, her papers seized, the few friends who persevered in treating her with the same respect as formerly were punished, and she was strictly prohibited from writing. The firmness with which she had resisted the efforts and menaces used to compel her to acknowledge her own illegitimacy, and the supremacy of Henry in the Church, had so angered him against her as to lead to his uttering curses, not only "loud but deep," against her, and gave rise to whispered rumours that the lives of Mary and her mother were no longer safe. Charles the Fifth heard not these rumours unmoved. He indignantly reproached Henry for his treatment of Katharine and her daughter, a step which his near relationship to them entitled him to take, and, perhaps, had he not interfered, the tyrant Henry might have resorted to the last extremity towards his injured wife and daughter.

The health of Mary now began to fail, and Katharine, who felt her own end approaching, vainly, as we have seen, solicited to be permitted to see her daughter, or, if this boon were denied, to be allowed to draw nearer to her. Anne Boleyn did not long survive her predecessor.

The death of Katharine, so long desired by her as the sole object to complete her felicity, bestowed but a short-lived triumph, for she soon after learned to commiserate, by her own sad experience, the pangs which Katharine must have felt, when she saw the affections of her husband transferred to another. The degradation and death of Anne, followed by the declaration of the illegitimacy of her daughter Elizabeth, produced little change in the position of Mary, until the influence of Anne's successor, Jane Seymour, was exercised in her favour.

The letter of congratulation addressed by Mary to the king, on his marriage, is so full of humility and promises of "henceforth avoiding all causes of offence," and "submitting herself in all things to his goodness and pleasure, to do with her whatsoever shall please his grace," that we may conclude her firmness hitherto in refusing to acknowledge herself illegitimate originated in her respect to the feelings of her mother, rather than in any pride or obstinacy in upholding her own right, and gives her a strong claim to our respect. But this humility and repentance did not, for a considerable time, make any impression on the stubborn heart of Henry, and he allowed some weeks to elapse, after she had consented to own her illegitimacy, before he condescended to vouchsafe his pardon for her offences.

And now Mary and Elizabeth, branded with the stigma of illegitimacy, were placed in a similar position. A private establishment was formed for both, and Mary became the protectress of her sister, as the following passage in one of her letters to the king testifies :—"My sister Elizabeth is in good health (thanks to our Lord), and such a child toward, as I doubt not, but your highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming (as knoweth Almighty God), who send your grace, with the queen, my good mother, health, with the accomplishment of your desires."

There was no less generosity than courage in Mary's thus recalling Elizabeth to the recollection, and in recommending her to the goodwill, of Henry, for it was then well known that he entertained strong, though unjust, doubts of her being his child ; and so much obloquy has been cast on the fame of Mary, that we would fain, while recording the stern truths alleged against her, not pass over unnoticed any fact that throws a favourable light on her character.

During the years that Mary was living in seclusion with Elizabeth at Hunsdon, she was neither forgotten by the subjects of her father, nor left unsought by royal suitors for her hand. James the Fifth

formally solicited her for his bride while Anne Boleyn still held all her influence over Henry's heart, and perhaps it was this influence that led to the rejection of the proposal of James, as Anne Boleyn might naturally dread a marriage for her step daughter which might subsequently injure the interests of her own offspring. Be the motives what they may, the offer of James the Fifth was refused, and this chance of escaping from her heavy trials was denied the unhappy Mary. It is doubtful whether any reliance may be placed in the romantic attachment supposed to have existed between Mary and Reginald Pole. Frequent opportunities of meeting must have offered while the Countess of Salisbury, his mother, was the governess of the princess, and a man so remarkable, not only for his personal attractions but for his mental superiority and grace of manners might very naturally be supposed to make a deep impression on the heart of a young person so devoted to serious studies, and so precluded from seeing other men. That Katharine of Arragon wished such an alliance to take place more than one historian asserts, but neither in early youth nor afterwards have we any proof that Mary entertained for this distinguished man any warmer feeling than the friendship due to the son of her fond and faithful friend, and the courageous opposer of the divorce of her beloved mother.

Few men of this time were more esteemed and respected than Reginald Pole. Even the coarse minded and selfish Henry could not resist the attraction possessed by this noble scion of the proud Plantagenets, and he permitted him, at the commencement, a freedom of speech on the dangerous subject of the divorce, which testified the affection he must have felt for him. Had Reginald yielded his assent to the divorce, instead of having opposed it, the tragical fate of his mother and brother, some years after, might have been spared, for the influence of a mind like his must have tempered the natural ferocity of Henry. The part taken by Cromwell, in the disgrace of Mary, redounds little to his credit. He had an interest in degrading both Mary and Elizabeth, as his son had married the sister of Jane Seymour, and therefore all the endeavours of this base and vulgar upstart were bent to aggrandise the offspring of Queen Jane. The undissembled violence with which he dictates to, rather than advises her, in his letters betrays a very ungenerous spirit and a very unfeeling mind, nor did he cease to menace her until she signed a submission to the articles which were made the conditions of Henry's pardon. How must it have galled her pride and lacerated her heart, to admit that the marriage of her parents was incestuous, that her own birth was illegiti-

mate ; and how must her conscience have been wounded by subscribing to the supremacy of Henry over the Church, and the denial of the pope's authority, which authority had been exercised to pronounce the marriage of her mother valid and her own birth legitimate ! However posterity may censure Mary for so absolute a submission, the terms of which must have so deeply humiliated her, it should be remembered that she did not consent, however great her sufferings, to make it, until her mother had been long laid in her peaceful grave, and that *her* feelings could no longer suffer from this enforced submission of her daughter. Who can say how this enforced violence offered to her conscience may have actuated Mary in after-life to mistaken and indefensible acts to atone for it ?

Mary having now drained the bitter cup of humiliation to its dregs by the renunciation of all her claims and conscientious scruples, reaped the inadequate reward of such painful sacrifices by having an establishment assigned her at Hunsdon with her sister, the little Elizabeth ; and though it was formed on a scale of the strictest economy, she was less unhappy in this humble seclusion than when the contrast of the splendour allotted to Elizabeth made her daily feel the sorrowful change in her own position. In the tranquil solitude of Hunsdon, Mary continued with unabated perseverance those studies for which she had so early evinced a peculiar taste. She read much, studied not only Latin, in which she made a great proficiency, but made herself mistress of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. She paid great attention to geography, mathematics, and astronomy, yet found time for practising on the virginals and lute.

Though no longer looked on as heiress to the crown, this change in her position did not prevent the question of Mary's marriage with Henry, Duke of Orleans, being again brought on the *tapis* by France. But, as formerly, it was suffered to die away without any satisfactory result, for the king took little trouble at that period about the future position of his daughter, who, not being yet permitted to enter his presence, notwithstanding her entire submission to his will, occupied little of his thoughts. When she was admitted to court, it may have been through the interference of the queen in her favour, and her first appearance there is said to have been at Christmas, 1536. From this period, Henry not only relaxed in his severity towards her, but evinced a return of his former affection, and the queen treated her with unvaried kindness. It is infinitely to her honour that, when she was restored to favour, she did not neglect her sister Elizabeth, to whom she took

especial care that some portion of the sunshine permitted her should extend ; for mention is made of the presence of Elizabeth with Mary at the baptism of Prince Edward, and of her retaining the child with her in her apartments in Hampton Court Palace. The dress of Mary at the christening was so rich as to prove that Henry must have bestowed on her some, if not all, of the fine jewels of her mother, and the largeness of the pecuniary gifts she presented to the different persons appertaining to the queen on that occasion, as well as the extent of her charities, testify that her allowance must have been greatly increased. The baptismal ceremonies of Prince Edward were soon followed by the funeral ones of Jane Seymour, his mother, at which Mary enacted the part of chief mourner, after which she took up her abode with the king at Windsor Castle, until the court removed to Richmond Palace for the celebration of the Christmas festivities. Several entries in the "Privy-purse Expenses" contain notices of the sums lost by Mary at cards during her residence at court,—entries which confirm the reports of the love of gaming attributed to Henry. In 1537, the hand of Mary was solicited by the Prince of Portugal, but this treaty, like others of a similar nature, produced no result, and Mary herself not only evinced perfect indifference towards her suitors, but often expressed her desire of leading a single life. Mary incurred great danger in the following year, owing to the Catholic insurgents in the north of England praying for her restoration to her former rank. The severity with which Henry caused these men to be pursued, and the blood shed as a punishment for their outbreak, must have terrified Mary for her own safety, so greatly endangered by their injudicious revival of her claims, while the cruelties practised towards the unfortunate victims must have hardened her heart even while it horrified her. The scaffold was deluged with some of the best blood in England, and the flames which ascended from the stake toward heaven, filled the nation with terror and horror—neither age nor sex were spared. Superstition urged on vengeance, and a charge of sorcery was sufficient to condemn a helpless woman, Lady Bulmer, to the flames !

The next claimant for the hand of Mary was the Duke of Cleves, but this proposed marriage, like all former ones, went off, probably because she was, pending the negotiations, termed "the king's natural daughter," which must have been a serious obstacle in the eyes of so formal a family as that of Cleves. It might be urged that the declaration of Mary's illegitimacy had been already universally known before this union had been contemplated ; but it should be borne in mind

that Henry had so often hinted that he could as easily raise her to her former position as he had hurled her from it, that expectations might have been entertained that in default of male issue, Mary might one day be called to fill the throne ; and as Prince Edward was the only male heir that stood between her and it, the Duke of Cleves probably viewed her as heiress in prospective.

Severely were the feelings of Mary tried in the following year by the ruin that overwhelmed a family in whom she took a deep and affectionate interest. The friend and guardian of her childhood, the Countess of Salisbury, to whom she was tenderly attached, was imprisoned in the Tower, her property seized, and, in her advanced age and its consequent infirmities, she was by the malice of her foes deprived of not only the common comforts of life, but even of strict necessities. Her son, the Lord Montague, was beheaded, and her near and dear relative, the Marquis of Exeter, suffered the same fate. If the misfortunes of those so dear to her could receive aggravation in her mind, it must have been furnished by the consciousness that to their consanguinity and affection for Reginald Pole, the courageous advocate against her mother's divorce, they owed the vengeance of the cruel and vindictive Henry.

Again were Mary's pecuniary resources so much abridged that she was compelled to have recourse to the medium of Cromwell to represent her poverty to her father. This appeal, which must have been painful to Mary to make, was answered by the gift of one hundred pounds from Henry, which relieved her for some time from the pressure of want. In 1539, Henry signified his desire to his daughter, then residing at Hertford Castle, that she should receive the suit of the Duke Philip of Bavaria, lately arrived in England. This prince, who was nearly allied to Anne of Cleves, between whom and Henry a marriage had been then concerted, was the *avant-courier* of his cousin, and was received with peculiar favour by the king. On this occasion Mary again pleaded her desire to remain single,—a plea, the sincerity of which in this instance may well be credited, when the reader reflects that her proposed suitor professed the Protestant creed, while she was a bigoted adherent to the Roman Catholic one. But although Mary urged this plea, she too much dreaded incurring the anger of Henry to reject in more positive terms the alliance he wished her to form. She was compelled to receive the suit of Philip, to accept the gift which as an acknowledged suitor he bestowed on her ; and had not the conduct of Henry to Anne of Cleves been such as too deeply offended her

kinsman to admit of his continuing to urge his suit, there is every probability that she would have become, however unwillingly, the bride of the Bavarian prince, who had already acquired, by his invincible courage against the Turks, the epithet of "Philip the Brave." That this prince entertained an affection for her was proved by his willingness to wed her when the stigma of illegitimacy shut out all hope of her future accession to the throne, and when the well-known parsimony of Henry precluded any expectation of a rich dowry to his daughter. Among the ladies distinguished by the favour of Mary, the fair and afterwards celebrated Geraldine, must not be overlooked. *She came to reside with the princess in 1538, at Hunsdon, and there commenced an affection between them that never knew a change.* The Lady Geraldine was allied in no remote degree to Mary, being the daughter of Lady Elizabeth Grey, whose father, the Marquis of Dorset, was the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. The father of the fair Geraldine was the Earl of Kildare, who perished on the scaffold in 1537. The fortune of this noble family being confiscated, the bereaved widow and her child were reduced to poverty, and compelled to owe the maintenance of Geraldine to the daughter of him who had wrought their ruin. There was a deep and romantic interest attached to this lady before the chivalrous Surrey had bequeathed her name to posterity, through the medium above all others the most certain to transmit it—wedded to immortality. The fair Geraldine continued with Mary until her services were transferred to Queen Katharine Howard, in whose courtly circle Surrey had opportunities of beholding her. When the fall of this fair but unfortunate queen dispersed her ladies, Geraldine accepted the hand of an aged suitor, probably impelled by poverty to form so ill-assorted a marriage, and became the Lady Blowne, a homely name, that ill accords with the euphonious one of "Geraldine."

In the succeeding years of 1510 and 1511, we find Mary placed in a situation that must command the pity of all, that of having some of the friends whom she most loved hurried by the unrelenting persecutions of her father to the most cruel and ignominious deaths, on the alleged plea of treason, but more truly for their imprudent zeal and determined adherence to that faith of which Henry had now become the declared enemy. The deaths of Dr. Fetherston, the preceptor of her youth, and of Abel, the chaplain of her mother, deeply as they must have afflicted her, were followed by the barbarous execution of her aged and beloved friend, the Countess of Salisbury, under circumstances of such brutal and revolting cruelty, as never to be thought of



without horror, and which must have overwhelmed her with grief and fear. The countess's son, Lord Montague, with the Marquis of Exeter, had already on the block paid the penalty of their kinship to Reginald Pole, the staunch opponent of Henry's divorce from Queen Katharine, and fulfilled the threat thundered forth by the monster Henry at the time.

In 1542, Francis the First again solicited the hand of Mary for his second son, the Duke of Orleans, but the treaty, after it had considerably advanced, was broken off because Henry would not give the fortune with Mary required by France. The whole treaty, as handed down to us, offers an amusing specimen of the manner in which such affairs were then discussed by the diplomatic agents to whom they were intrusted, and proves that Francis the First was no less exacting in his conditions for the *dot*, than Henry the Eighth was parsimonious; the one requiring a million of crowns, while the other would only bestow on his daughter two hundred thousand. Each of the ambassadors employed on this occasion endeavoured to enhance the merits of the party represented, but with little avail, for the affair ended as similar ones in less elevated stations have often done, by Plutus having more influence than Cupid! The ruin of the fair but frail Katharine Howard seemed to remove another obstacle from the succession of Mary to the throne. Her brother Edward, after her father, alone stood between her and the throne, to which, notwithstanding all the steps taken by Henry to deprive her of all right, her claims were still tacitly, if not openly, acknowledged by the nation. That Mary now held a more dignified station may be admitted by the fact that she was employed by Henry to negotiate a peace between him and her cousin and former suitor, Charles the Fifth, and was permitted to grant an audience to the Spanish ambassador.

The gifts presented to Mary on the Christmas of 1542 were numerous and costly; and we notice the fair Geraldine, then Lady Browne, and her aged husband, among those who offered their homage on this occasion. Henry did not long remain a widower, and his sixth and last choice fell on Katharine Parr. Mary graced the nuptials with her presence, and as a mark of favour shown to her, accompanied the king and queen on their extended tour in the country during the summer. The illness to which, for some time previous and ever after, Mary became subject at certain seasons of the year, attacked her during this journey, and she was removed to Ampthill, a place pregnant with sorrowful memories to her, as having been the residence of her mother. She did not join the court again until Christmas, on

which occasion Katharine Parr bestowed on her the very acceptable gift of forty pounds, which came when Mary's finances were reduced to so low an ebb as to have compelled the sale of some articles of her plate. That Henry had never felt any compunctious visitings with regard to his injustice to Mary in despoiling her of her birthright, may be judged by his having decreed that any daughters he might have by Katharine Parr, or by any succeeding wives, should be entitled to the throne in case of default of male issue. Nevertheless, in 1554, he caused an act of parliament to be enacted, by which Mary was restored to royal rank, but was only to succeed the daughters of Katharine Parr, or those by any future queen of Henry.

The first notice we find of Mary's assuming the splendour and dignity of her restored rank, is on the occasion of the reception of a Spanish ambassador, sent from her royal kinsman, Charles the Fifth. Perhaps her restoration may have been influenced by the wily Henry's desire of conciliating the emperor, than which a more likely mode could not be thought of. Her appearance and dress at a court-ball which followed the reception attracted great attention, and probably it was the favourable report made of her by the ambassador to his sovereign, that led him to think of the union between her and his son, which afterwards took place.

Katharine Parr soon acquired a considerable influence over Mary, an influence the more to be wondered at, when the difference of their religious creeds is taken into consideration. It was at the request of the queen that Mary translated the Latin paraphrase of St. John by Erasmus,—a real, though perhaps an unconscious, service rendered to the advocates of the Reformation. The labour, erudition, and patience necessary for the performance of this task, merit the praise bestowed on it, although it unhappily failed to enlighten her who fulfilled it. That Mary was of a generous disposition may be inferred from the entries in the privy-purse book of the princess of the presents of trinkets and jewels given by her to her friends and ladies of the court; and that she loved order, may be seen by the list of her jewels regularly kept and signed by her own hand.

A good understanding appears to have existed not only between Mary and the queen, but also between Prince Edward, Elizabeth, and Mary. The letter quoted in Strype's "Memorials," from Prince Edward to Mary, although formal, and too complimentary to indicate any great warmth of affection, nevertheless shows an interest in her health.

Although bodily infirmities, and a fearful increase of acerbity of temper, their consequent result, given way to without any attempt to control the violence of his passions, rendered Henry the Eighth more like a wild beast than a human being during the last years of his life, Mary escaped incurring his displeasure. To this may be attributed his confirming her, by his will, in her right of succession, and his bequest of ten thousand pounds, and three thousand a-year while she remained unmarried. We have the authority of Pollino for stating, that Mary was summoned to the dying bed of her father shortly before he expired, and that for the first time he addressed something like regret for the sorrows he had caused her, and entreated her to act as a kind mother to her brother. Never did she forget this entreaty, for in after trials, and they were neither "few nor far between," during the Protectorate, never did she for a single moment countenance any of the attempts made to subvert those who ruled in Edward's name, however much she suffered from their acts, and was tormented by their unfounded suspicions. The will of Henry the Eighth was as inconsistent as his life had been, and bore evidence of the insincerity of his faith in that religion of which his defence gained for him the unmerited title of "Defender of the Faith." He willed that his son should be brought up a Catholic, and bequeathed six hundred pounds a-year for masses to be said for the repose of his own soul!—acts wholly at variance with the professions of his life, since he had abjured the papal faith. Yet this was the man to whom it was supposed we owe the establishment of the Protestant religion! The only interference of Mary with the government after the death of her father was an address from her to Somerset containing her urgent prayer for the fulfilment of Henry's will with regard to the education and tenets of her brother. This address produced no other effect than a disingenuous and unsuccessful attempt on his part to disprove the fact of which the will itself left no doubt, namely, that Henry had returned to the creed of his youth. A good understanding seemed to exist between the youthful king and Mary during the first months of his reign. They passed the Christmas together, and he evinced a partiality for her society. The troubles which broke out soon after, as well as the difference in their faith, interrupted this good understanding. Somerset accused her servants of countenancing the rebels in Devonshire, and she answered the accusation not only by a prompt and firm denial, but more than hinted that the cause of the troubles originated in the unlawful changes he had effected.

The marriage of Katharine Parr with Lord Thomas Seymour was very repugnant to the feelings of Mary, and though it produced no breach of courtesy between them, led to a ceremonious coldness. Mary was the last person likely to overlook or pardon the indecorous haste with which the widowed queen bestowed her hand on him who had sued for it before Henry had distinguished her,—and they met no more.

It having been arranged by the privy council, on the death of her father, that Elizabeth should reside with her step mother, Queen Katharine Parr, Mary, on the marriage of the queen with Lord Thomas Seymour, wrote to her sister, to offer her a home beneath her roof. Whether Mary was aware of the proposal of marriage made by the artful Seymour to Elizabeth on the death of Henry, and when she was only in her fourteenth year is not known, but certain it is, that if she were acquainted with this fact it was highly prudent of her to wish to remove her sister from the house of a man who, four days after his rejection by Elizabeth transferred his suit to her step mother for whom he had previously entertained an affection, thereby proving the instability of his character, and the ambitious views by which he was actuated. Elizabeth however preferred remaining with Katharine Parr, to removing to her sister,—a preference that argues little for her delicacy, and which very naturally afterwards drew on her not only the jealousy of Katharine Parr, but the censure of those who had opportunities of witnessing the coarse romping and improper familiarities which occurred between her and the unprincipled Seymour. The excuse alleged by Elizabeth for not accepting her sister's invitation was, that the queen had shown her so much friendship that she feared to incur the reproach of ingratitude if she left her. The bad health of Mary, no less than her desire of privacy and avoidance of a court in which her religion caused her to be viewed with jealousy and distrust, confined her to Kenninghall, where she passed a considerable portion of her time. She, however, paid a visit to the king at St James's Palace in 1548, when she was received with all the splendour due to her rank and consanguinity to the sovereign. Among the many courtiers who flocked to the palace to offer homage to the Princess Mary was Lord Thomas Seymour, the widowed husband of Katharine Parr, who had neither lost any portion of the insinuating influence for which he was so remarkable, nor the ambition for which he was no less so. Aware of Mary's fondness for music, and none being permitted, or at least provided in the palace of her brother, Seymour took occasion to express his regret that she was

deprived of this pleasure, and his fear that want of practice would impair her skill in the science. He recommended a person to give her instruction, who it was afterwards ascertained was a creature of his, who was to convey with his lessons in music some of a nature to serve the interests of his artful employer, by exciting for him an interest in the breast of the princess. The discovery of this scheme by the protector must have confirmed the suspicions he had long entertained against his brother, of harbouring intentions of ultimately transferring his views to Mary, should he not succeed in securing the favour of Elizabeth. Although Mary's health was in so precarious a state as to create great alarm in the minds of her friends, and a belief in her own that her end was rapidly approaching, Somerset, the stern and unfeeling protector, spared her not in pertinaciously urging her to conform to the rules of a religion which her conscience refused to acknowledge.¹ He wished, also, that she should yield up three members of her household to be examined by the privy council, touching her religious worship. These persons were her chaplain, her officer, and her comptroller. To what lengths this proud and tyrannical man might have proceeded against her, time was denied him to prove, for, while he was yet assailing her with letters, to answer which must have been a difficult and harassing task in her weak state, he was hurled from the power he so often abused, and brought to the block, through the jealousy of Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland. Although his enemies mixed up the name of Mary in their outbreak for his destruction, and, as Somerset accused them—whether truly or falsely has never been known—of entertaining the project of elevating her to the regency of the kingdom, Dudley, nevertheless, when in power, betrayed no less desire to molest and give her trouble than his predecessor, Somerset, had done. The arrest of her chaplain for celebrating the rites of her religion in her chapel, induced her to appeal to Charles the Fifth, who through his ambassador, applied to the privy council that the princess might have the privilege. This application having proved unsuccessful, Charles the Fifth, greatly offended and alarmed for the safety of his cousin, menaced England with a war, unless she was placed without the pale of the stringent laws lately enacted against nonconformists, and sent a fleet to be stationed off the eastern coast, near to which her abode was situated, to remain in readiness to receive Mary in case of emergency, and to convey her to his sister, the Queen of Hungary. This measure created both dissatisfaction and suspicion in the minds of the king and privy-councillors, and these last used their efforts, under

¹ Carte, vol. iii. book xvi. p. 233.

pretence of anxiety for her health, to induce her to withdraw from Newhall, which, from its proximity to the coast, offered a facility for her embarking. Mary pretended to take their interference in good part, but under various pretexts, declined complying with their recommendations to leave Newhall. The system of persecution against her continuance of the performance of her religious rites, far from abating, gained force. It was urged against her as a crime that mass was celebrated with open doors and that she permitted others than her household to be present. Wearied by the representations of the privy council Mary determined on pleading her cause in person to the king, and for this purpose took up her abode at Winstead, whence she, soon after her arrival, proceeded on horseback, attended by her lords and ladies to the palace at Westminster. Although received with the courtesy due to her rank the appeal, which she meant to be addressed solely to her brother was submitted to his privy council as well. In presence of these she was informed that the king had long tolerated her opposition to his will in the hope that his indulgence might operate favourably on her mind but that finding this not to be the case he was now determined to deal otherwise by her, and to exact the obedience due by a subject to a sovereign. Mary, nothing daunted, declared that she could neither forsake her religion nor deny it, and that she would be found ready to resign her life in preference. The king however dissatisfied by her obstinacy, used only kind words to her, and they parted on civil, if not on cordial terms.

Another suitor now presented himself for the hand of Mary. This was the Duke of Brunswick, who, though a Protestant prince, was not deterred from seeking a Roman Catholic bride. This suit was declined on the plea that one was then pending between the princess and Don Louis the infant of Portugal which however, never came to a successful termination. The next claimant the Marquis of Brandenburg, was likewise a Protestant, and shared no better fortune than her other wooers. Mary was not permitted any long respite from the persecution entailed by her religion. One of her chaplains was arrested beneath her roof, and subjected to harsh treatment in the Tower, and soon after the two principal officers of her household were commanded by the king and privy council to inform their mistress that henceforth the celebration of the mass should be discontinued. Mary, deeply offended asserted her dignity on this occasion, and for some hours refused to permit her officers to deliver the message with which they were charged. She again appealed to the king by letter, and it argues

ill for Edward and his council, that they once more commanded the same persons to return to Mary to repeat the insulting message they had previously been charged with. These persons, however, preferred incurring the wrath of the king and council to encountering the anger of their indignant mistress; and the privy council, in consequence, found themselves under the necessity of sending certain members of their body, headed by the lord chancellor, to Mary, then residing at Copthall, to enforce her obedience to the king's commands. Mary's conduct on this trying occasion was no less remarkable for its firmness than for its tact, for, while professing every respect for the king, she ventured to do more than insinuate her disbelief that the harshness exercised towards her originated with his majesty, and concluded by stating, that if not permitted to have the rites of her own church celebrated beneath her roof, no power should induce her to suffer those of any other.

It is not to be wondered at that the health of Mary, for many years delicate, became gravely injured by the mental disquietude to which she was subjected; and her enemies, taking advantage of her weak state, propagated reports of her infirmities, in order to induce a belief of her utter unfitness to fill the throne should the death of the king leave it vacant. Edward had lately suffered much from bad health, and this led those around him to reflect on the probable result of his languor. The intercourse between the king and Mary, owing to their religious differences, was neither frequent nor unconstrained, and a better proof of Edward's alienation from her could not be given than his naming his cousin the Lady Jane Grey to succeed him on the throne. But if alienated from Mary by the difference in their faith, and the dread of the change in religion which her accession to the throne would effect, no such reasons could be alleged for his passing over his sister Elizabeth's claims, which gives just cause to believe that in taking this step he was influenced by a fear that the marriage of either of the princesses with a foreigner might impair the laws and liberty of the nation. The death of Edward did not put an end to the machinations of the enemies of Mary. They concealed his demise, and a letter was written by the council, as if by the king's desire, stating his extreme illness and requesting her presence. Imposed on by this artifice, she set out to join the king; when at Hoddesdon she received private intelligence of the death of Edward, and was warned of the scheme to entrap and convey her a prisoner to the Tower. She, after some reflection, turned from her intended course, bent her way towards

Cambridgeshire, and arriving late at the portal of Sawston Hall, the seat of Mr. Huddleston, she sought and found admission. The hospitality of this gentleman is the more to be valued, as it was extended at no inconsiderable risk to himself, a fact of which he was well aware. The next morning at early dawn she pursued her route, and had proceeded to the Gogmagog Hills, where drawing rein, she looked back and saw Sawston Hall in flames. A large party from Cambridge, opposed to her claims, attacked Sawston Hall, and, having pillaged it, reduced it to ashes by fire. Fortunate was it for Mary that her foes found her not there, for there is little doubt that, in the hostile spirit that animated them, she might have suffered much at their hands. As she beheld the roof which had sheltered her during the night previous, consuming, she exclaimed, "Let it blaze. I will build Huddleston a better;" and she kept her word. That she gained Kenninghall in safety, may be owing to the fact that the death of Edward was still kept a profound secret from the people, hence those opposed to her claims to the throne were not yet disposed to take measures against her. The first act of Mary on reaching Kenninghall was to apprise the privy council of her late brother that she was aware of his death, and also of their evil intentions towards her, offering them, however, a full pardon, provided they forthwith proclaimed her their queen; but so little effect had this moderate measure with them, that the day which followed the reception of the letter not only saw them proclaim the Lady Jane Grey their sovereign, but witnessed their accompanying this act by the most insulting references to the illegitimacy of Mary. This opposition from a powerful faction might have shaken the courage of even one better prepared to resist it than Mary was at that time, for she stood in absolute need of the sinews of war, money and troops. But her spirit quailed not, and when two Catholic partisans, Sir Henry Jerningham and Sir Henry Bedingfield, brought their adherents to her cause, they found her undauntedly determined to assert it. And now the death of Edward being known through the country, it was deemed expedient that Mary should remove to a place better calculated to support a siege, or to escape from, in case of defeat. She again set out, escorted by her knights and dames, and the little band devoted to her, for Framlingham Castle. Here she boldly assumed the title of queen, her standard floated from the battlements, and a gallant troop, headed by one of the knights of Suffolk, rallied round it. To these were soon added other adherents of weight and influence in Suffolk and the adjoining counties, until she found herself with a force of no

less than fourteen thousand men. She had not been many days at Framlingham Castle, when from its towers a fleet was seen approaching the coast, and little doubt could be entertained that it was adverse to her. Fortunately for Mary, one of the most zealous of her partisans, Sir Henry Jerningham, happened to be at Yarmouth when the fleet neared that harbour, and he lost no time, but entering a boat, went out and demanded to speak with their captains. "You are rebels to your rightful sovereign," exclaimed Jerningham, sternly. "If so," replied the men of war, "we will throw them into the sea, for we are her true subjects."

The commanders of the fleet at once surrendered themselves, and Jerningham and those who accompanied him became masters of the ships. As the fleet was well armed, and contained several pieces of cannon, as well as abundant stores, having been sent for the siege of Mary's fortress, the possession of it was most valuable to Mary, who stood greatly in need of these implements of war; and while she was congratulating herself on this accession to her resources, she was apprised that Sir Edward Hastings, who had been employed to raise troops for her rival, the Lady Jane Grey, had joined her cause, and placed the forces he had levied at her orders. This last circumstance was of vital importance to her interests, for it led to the desertion of some of the most powerful adherents of Lady Jane Grey, among whom were the Earls of Bath and Sussex, who hastened to join her at Framlingham Castle, leading a considerable number of their followers to her standard. Every day saw fresh adherents flocking to join her; the ships in the neighbouring ports declared for her; provisions were plentifully sent in to her garrison. Nor was money deficient, Mary having commanded that the money and church-plate at Norwich, of great value, should be appropriated to her use. Thus supported, she issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of Northumberland, who had no sooner heard of the turn taken in her favour in London, than he proclaimed her queen at Cambridge, where he was then staying, sorely, as may be well conjectured, against his will. But this piece of diplomacy availed him not; for, on the entry of some of Mary's troops into Cambridge, Northumberland was arrested, and sent prisoner to London. The partisans of Northumberland now hastened to entreat the clemency of Mary; and she set out for the metropolis at the head of a large force, and accompanied by several of the nobility. Her progress to London resembled rather that of a conqueror than one whose empire had been disputed. The Princess

Elizabeth had received instructions to meet her sister at Wanstead, and came, escorted by a numerous train of lords and ladies, to render homage to her sovereign. From Wanstead the royal party proceeded to London, forming a brilliant *cortège*. Mary, with Elizabeth by her side, and surrounded by her ladies, was mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, and was attired in a dress of violet-coloured velvet. At the city gate she dismissed her troops, consisting of no less than three thousand men; and the lord mayor, with a body of gentlemen in splendid habiliments, and attended by the civic guard, composed her escort. Mary first halted at the Tower, there to remain until the late king had been consigned to the tomb; and the first sight that presented itself to her on entering the portal was the melancholy one of all the state prisoners, women as well as men, who had been confined there during the reigns of the last two monarchs. Among them were many of high note, and some whose lives were only saved by the death of Edward. Mary betrayed considerable emotion as she looked on these prisoners, and immediately commanded that they should be restored to liberty. Many of them were appointed to places of high trust in the royal household, and the bishops were reinstated in their sees. The funeral of Edward, which was conducted with all becoming splendour, being over, Mary issued a proclamation, recommending her subjects to refrain from angry disputations on religious subjects, and holding out a promise of toleration to those whose creeds accorded not with her own. It is probable, that had Mary been left to the dictates of her own conscience, she might have fulfilled this pledge; but her privy council had those among its members who were little disposed towards toleration, and who, urged on by bigotry, used their baleful influence to turn her from the milder and wiser course she was at first inclined to adopt. The cases were neither few nor unfrequent in which the merciful interference of Mary rescued victims from the wrath of her privy council, and rarely was it denied by her if entreated. The first step taken by Mary in violation of the promise of toleration was the prohibition of public reading of the Scriptures, or preaching of the curates, except by such as were licensed by her; and this gave a foretaste of what might be afterwards expected. A bigoted sovereign is sure to corrupt the religious principles of a great portion of her subjects, and to divide them into two classes, hypocrites and martyrs. Those who court favour will be ready to adopt her creed, and those who conscientiously adhere to their own, expose themselves to obloquy, if not to persecution. Northumberland and his companions in rebellion were brought to trial

a few days after Mary ascended the throne, and he, and two of his followers, were condemned to death. But when Mary was urged to bring Lady Jane Grey to trial, she showed great reluctance, alleging that her unfortunate cousin ought not to be punished for the crime in which the ambition of Northumberland compelled her to act a part. Well had it been for the reputation of Mary if she had maintained her original good intentions of clemency towards her fair and interesting kinswoman, who should be viewed as the innocent victim to the policy of Edward and the ambition of Northumberland.

Before the month of August had expired, Mary received in private, and with the utmost secrecy, an envoy from the pope, to whom she revealed two very important pieces of intelligence. The first was her desire to yield to the pope the supremacy in religion wrested from him by her father; and the second, that she had pledged her hand to Philip of Spain. Two measures more calculated to render her unpopular, never could have been thought of; and of this was Reginald Pole, now a cardinal, so well aware, that he earnestly counselled Mary not to marry, while Bishop Gardiner as earnestly entreated her not to resign her supremacy. Mary now found herself placed in a difficult and dangerous position. The members of the Established Church, as the Protestant was termed, looked on her as its enemy; the anti-papal Catholics strongly suspected her of an inclination to surrender the supremacy to the pope; and those of the ancient Catholic faith, who had denied all supremacy save that of the pope, were doubtful whether or not she would restore it to him.

The rumour of the Spanish marriage gave discontent to all parties; but Mary, now no longer young, evinced a desire to wed which she had never betrayed in her youth, and leant entirely to the individual most objectionable to her subjects, namely, Philip of Spain. So determined was she to carry out her wishes on this point, that when an address was sent her from the House of Commons, praying that she would not marry a foreigner, her answer was, "That she held her crown of God, and hoped to find counsel from Him alone on so important an occasion."

Nor were her subjects more averse to this marriage than was he whom it even more personally concerned, for Charles the Fifth had great difficulty in persuading his son to consent to wed Mary. Nor could this objection on his side be wondered at. Eleven years his senior, Mary was remarkably grave even for a woman of thirty-seven, and had lost all the freshness which sometimes adheres to Englishwomen even at a

more advanced age The knowledge that she had been affianced to his father before he had been born, was not calculated to reconcile Philip to the disparity in the age of his future bride; and it was, perhaps, this objection which led the emperor to assure Mary in a letter, that "If his own age and health had rendered him a suitable spouse, he should have had the greatest satisfaction in wedding her himself"

And now the thoughts of the court and courtiers were directed to the approaching coronation Mary being the first queen who had filled the throne in her own right, it became necessary to establish etiquette for the grave ceremonial where precedents could not be found That it might be worthy of her, her citizens came forward with a loan of twenty thousand pounds, no inconsiderable sum for that time; and preparations were soon commenced Previous to the 1st of October, the day named for the coronation, Mary proceeded in her state barge from Whitehall to the Tower, attended by the Princess Elizabeth and all the ladies of her court, and escorted by the lord mayor and public functionaries of the city in their barges, and in all their civic display of rich clothes, gold, and chains, and with music, only broken by the sound of the cannon fired to do their sovereign honour and the cheers that welcomed her On the following day she created several knights of the Bath, and the succeeding day she went, accompanied by a grand procession, on horseback, through the streets, attended by no less than seventy ladies, dressed in crimson velvet, and several hundred noblemen, gentlemen, and all the foreign ambassadors, of whom the Spanish one took precedence The queen sat in a gorgeous litter, borne by six white horses, richly caparisoned in cloth of silver. Her robe was of blue velvet, bordered with ermine, and on her head she wore a net-work, so covered with jewels, of immense value, as nearly to conceal her hair The Princess Elizabeth, accompanied by Anne of Cleves, followed the queen in an open carriage, covered with crimson velvet and richly ornamented. Their robes were of cloth of silver. The master of the horse appeared next, leading the queen's palfrey, and then succeeded a vast train of ladies and lords on horseback and in carriages, dressed in great splendour, and followed by the queen's guards Stately pageants were exhibited for the queen's pleasure as she passed along The conduits of the city overflowed with wine; but, perhaps, the most acceptable of the homages offered to her was the gift presented by the aldermen of a thousand marks in a handsome purse, a timely addition to her finances, which were then in a very unflourishing state.

The coronation was as splendid as jewels, velvet, minever, and cloth of gold and of silver, could make it. No ceremonial usual on such occasions was omitted, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, attended by ten other bishops, performed the religious offices of the crowning.

It was remarked, with satisfaction, that the Princess Elizabeth was treated with due distinction by the queen, at whose side she sat at the banquet, at which also Anne of Cleves had a seat.

One of the earliest acts of parliament, after the accession of Mary, was the annulling of the sentences of divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and of the illegitimacy of her daughter. This was a necessary measure; but it would have been well if the illegitimacy of Elizabeth had likewise been annulled at the same time. It would have gratified the nation, and have removed from the princess herself all excuse for discontent. Mary, however, was then so absorbed by her approaching marriage, and entertained such hopes of it giving her an heir to the throne, that she probably thought not of establishing her sister's right to the succession, or, if she did, might have felt delicate in recalling the sentence against Anne Boleyn to the recollection of her daughter and the people. Where a favourable interpretation can be given to any part of the conduct of a queen, who rendered herself so unpopular, we are disposed to give her the benefit of it. A bill of attainder was now passed on Lady Jane Grey and her husband, and here was an opportunity afforded to Mary of displaying at once magnanimity and mercy, —two attributes which reflect a brighter lustre on a crown than all the jewels that encircle it. It appears like a destiny that Mary and her successor, Elizabeth, should consent to, if not cause, the deaths of two of the most interesting women to be found in the pages of English history,—women who, though unlike in their lives, one being as spotless as the other was suspected, nevertheless, by their violent deaths, have created a pity that time has not deprived them of.

The father of Lady Jane Grey compromised again the life of his daughter; for, pardoned by Mary for the part he had taken in having the Lady Jane set up as queen, he once more broke out into rebellion, when he found that the queen was bent on wedding Philip of Spain, and so drew on the Lady Jane that violent death from which Mary seemed disposed to save her, by furnishing a pretext to her enemies that the queen could hope for no security while Jane and her husband lived. Eleven days after the execution of Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley, Suffolk was beleaguered; so that Queen Mary's reign, short as it had been, had already witnessed the shedding of some of

turned his course through Fleet Street, but found Ludgate closed against him and defended by the citizens. The followers who had been separated from Wyatt came before the gates at Whitehall, and shot their arrows into the garden and windows of the palace, but, making no impression, they attempted to follow Wyatt to the city, but were stopped at Charing Cross by Sir Henry Jerningham, captain of the guard Sir Edward Bray, master of the ordnance, and Sir Philip Paris, knight, sent there by the Earl of Pembroke with a branch of archers and certain field pieces to protect the court. Here both parties fought manfully for some time, but at length the rebels were put to flight. Wyatt, defeated and dispirited, surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Buckley, and, with Sir Thomas Cobham and Thomas Knevet, was committed to the Tower, to which, the following day, several more of the leaders of the rebels were sent, and no less than four hundred persons were marched through the city to Westminster, with halters round their necks, but these last the queen pardoned, pronouncing their pardon in person from the gallery in the Tilt yard. The personal bravery of Mary during the conflict, a considerable portion of which she witnessed from a balcony of the palace overlooking the scene of action, should not be passed by without notice. She encouraged her defenders by words and gestures, showing more anxiety for them than for her own safety, and when her cause was most desperate, she descended from her balcony, and, placing herself by the side of the soldiers, by her presence and her exhortations animated their courage.

The evil consequences of this revolt died not with its defeat, and one of the most grave was the suspicion to which it gave birth in the breast of Mary against her sister Elizabeth. No sooner had Wyatt rebelled, than Mary summoned Elizabeth to join her without delay, and this summons, on the plea of sickness, not being complied with, three members of the privy council, with a troop of horse amounting to two hundred and fifty men, were sent to enforce her obedience to the queen's wishes. Though the commissioners found her ill in bed, they insisted on her accompanying them to town.

The harshness of this measure was hardly to be justified by the rumours in circulation, that Elizabeth and Lord Courtenay were implicated in Wyatt's insurrection, and it is probable that Mary would not have had recourse to it, had not Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, insisted and urged her to it. No step could be more calculated to serve Elizabeth's popularity, for the sight of the princess, pale and

suffering, and surrounded by guards, excited the deep commiseration of the people in every place through which they passed. And although she was brought to the palace, she was not admitted to the presence of the queen, but was in all respects treated as a prisoner, and for fourteen days subjected to a solitary confinement, seeing only those appointed to guard her. At the expiration of that time Gardiner, and nine others of the council, entered her prison, and charged her with having taken a part in Wyatt's conspiracy, as well as in Sir Peter Carew's insurrection in the west of England. Elizabeth denied the charge with great firmness, but when told that she must forthwith be sent to the Tower, she evinced considerable alarm, and said she hoped her majesty would not commit to that place a true and innocent woman, that had never offended her in thought, word, or deed, and requested the lords to intercede for her with the queen. Whether they fulfilled this request is doubtful, but in an hour after Gardiner and others returned to dismiss all her attendants, save her gentleman-usher, three ladies, and two grooms of her chamber. A strong guard was placed in the room adjoining hers, two lords, with men, to watch in the hall, with two hundred men in the garden,—preparations that prove the importance Mary attached to the safe keeping of her prisoner. The next day two lords of the council came to her and stated the queen's pleasure that she should instantly be conveyed to the Tower, that the barge for her conveyance was ready, and the tide offered. Elizabeth entreated most urgently to be permitted to remain until the next tide, and requested to be allowed to write to the queen. One of the council roughly rejected her petition, but the other, the Earl of Sussex, not only accorded it, but promised to deliver it into the queen's hand. The time employed in writing and entreating had seen the tide pass, and it no longer served to shoot the bridge with a barge. The queen was very angry at the delay, and Elizabeth's desire for it probably confirmed the suspicion entertained that she wished to gain time to have a rescue attempted. The next day, Palm-Sunday, she was taken from the palace, and passing through the garden to enter the barge, she was observed to cast her eyes towards the windows, hoping to see some pitying face; but beholding none, she sighed deeply and said, "I marvel what the nobility mean, to suffer me, a princess, to be led into captivity, the Lord knows whither, for myself do not." When the barge approached the bridge, the tide not being full in, the fall of the water at the bridge was so great, that the bargemen feared to attempt

to pass, and proposed to wait until the stream became more level. But this proposal was rejected, and the barge being impelled on, was placed in such danger that its stern struck against the ground, and having with difficulty neared the next stairs, its occupants could not be landed without stepping into the water, a dangerous trial for a sick woman. Ascending the stairs, Elizabeth solemnly said, "I speak before Thee, O God, having none other friend but Thee only : here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs." Having entered the gate, a great number of men, wardens and others, presented themselves to guard her, and as she passed many knelt down and prayed God to preserve her. For this demonstration of sympathy they were rebuked, and put from their ordinary next day. Lodged in prison, the first act of Elizabeth was one of piety ; she took out her prayer-book, and assembling her attendants around her, addressed the Almighty with deep fervour. But even the consolation of having the rites of her own religion celebrated was denied her ; for she was now commanded to hear mass in her prison, and two yeomen were appointed to make the responses to the priest. Not satisfied with the former examination of Elizabeth in the palace, Gardiner came to the Tower with others of the council to re-examine her. She was questioned as to a conversation alleged to have passed between her and a prisoner in the Tower, Sir James Croft, who was confronted with her, when the princess, with grave dignity, said, "My lords, methinks you do me wrong to examine every mean prisoner against me ; if they have done evil, let them answer for it ; I pray you join me not with such offenders."

Although no proof could be found against her, Elizabeth was still retained in prison until her health became much impaired, when permission was granted her to walk in the garden, and a strict prohibition given that while she remained in it no other prisoner was to be allowed to enter, or even to look into it. While in prison a boy of four years old, drawn towards her by that instinct which teaches children to distinguish those who are partial to them, was wont to bring Elizabeth flowers, and this innocent action furnished a suspicion that the artless child was the medium of a correspondence between her and the Lord Courtenay. The boy was menaced, and his father commanded not to suffer him to approach the princess again ; but the child nevertheless stole once more to the door of her prison, which finding closed, he peeped through a chink, and cried unto her, "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers."

About this time it is stated that a warrant was issued for the execution of Elizabeth. Bridges, then lieutenant of the Tower, suspecting that the warrant was not sanctioned by the queen, courageously hastened to her to inquire the truth. Mary evinced no less surprise than displeasure on this occasion, and instantly countermanded the warrant. Had Bridges possessed less courage, the life of Elizabeth would have been sacrificed. Gardiner was the person accused of this intended crime ; but if he were guilty of it, how came it that his royal mistress did not punish him ? Elizabeth's fears for her life did not soon subside ; for when Sir Henry Bedingfield, with a hundred soldiers, entered her prison a few days after, she demanded, "Whether the scaffold whereon Lady Jane Grey had suffered was still standing ; or whether Sir Henry made any conscience of murder, if hers was committed unto his charge ?"

Her terror had not ceased, when, on the 19th of the following May, she was removed from the Tower on her route to Woodstock, under the charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield and the Lord of Tame. When she reached Richmond all her own servants were commanded to remove from her presence, and her guards were ordered to supply their places, which so alarmed her, that believing it was only a preparatory step to her death, she desired the prayers of her servants, adding "For this night I think I must die."

Her gentleman-usher hastened to the Lord of Tame, and implored him to say whether his mistress that night stood in danger of death ? "May God forbid," quoth the Lord Tame, "that any such wickedness should be wrought, which rather than it should, I and my men will die at her feet."

As she proceeded towards Woodstock, the people with tears and prayers pressed to meet her, and the village-bells were rung, which so excited the ill-will of "her gaoler," as she termed Sir Henry, that he commanded the bells to cease, set the ringers in the stocks, and drove back the people, calling them traitors and rebels against the queen and her laws.

Arrived at Woodstock, her personal liberty was little increased, nor were her fears diminished. The lodgings assigned her were not befitting her rank, and were strongly guarded by soldiers night and day. This last precaution may have originated in a desire for her safety, but she viewed it in a different light. Though permitted to walk in the gardens, they were secured by so many locks, as was also her prison, that she was never allowed to forget her melancholy

position, even while breathing the air of heaven. To add to her terror, it was suspected that the Keeper of Woodstock, a man of turbulent and violent habits, and great brutality, was instigated to kill her. It was likewise said, that a creature of Gardiner's, named Basset, came to Bladenbridge, a mile from Woodstock, accompanied by twenty men, and pretending to have some important communication to make to Elizabeth, earnestly desired to be admitted to her presence, with no other intention than to murder her. Whatever the intention might be, it was defeated ; for Sir Henry Bedingfield, being absent, had left a strict charge with his brother that no one should be permitted to see his prisoner, even though coming from the council or queen herself. Even this charge implies a suspicion on his part that an attempt might be made against Elizabeth, a suspicion justified by the warrant for her death *unsanctioned by the queen*, but how low must the character of the Bishop of Winchester stand, when such suspicions, whether true or false, were entertained against him ! An occurrence which, whether designed or merely accidental, happened soon after the appearance of Basset at Woodstock, filled Elizabeth with terror : a fire broke out between the boards and ceiling, beneath the chamber in which she slept. It was while thus harassed, that, looking from the window of her prison one day, the unfortunate princess beheld a peasant girl in the park beneath, milking a cow, and singing gaily as she drew forth *the rich liquid*. The difference in their fates struck her forcibly ; the peasant maiden freely enjoying liberty, and tormented by no fears, while she, a princess, was denied these blessings ; and she preferred the lot of the humble maid to her own.

While Elizabeth was wearing away her young life in a prison, Mary, the possessor of a throne, was busily occupied in encouraging controversial disputes and in arrangements for her marriage. The result of the first assembly to discuss the subject of transubstantiation having caused Mary to command Bonner to dissolve it, shortly after, Crammer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were sent from the Tower of London to Oxford, to argue on it against Doctors Tresham, Cole, Oglethorpe, and Pie, Oxford men ; to whom were added, Doctors George Glinne, Seton, Watson, Sedgwick, and Atkinson. The disputation began on the 16th of April, 1554, and ended on the 20th, giving rise to the sentence of death by fire being pronounced on the three bishops, which sentence was carried into effect a year and a half after, to the eternal disgrace of Mary's reign.

The dissatisfaction entertained by Mary's subjects against her marriage with Philip of Spain decreased not as the period approached for its fulfilment. An universal dread prevailed that this union would lead to the abolition of the measures enacted in the previous reign for the reform of certain abuses in the Church and State. Superstition, the offspring of ignorance, never failing to lend its aid to account for, if not to justify, the fears of a people, on this occasion prognosticated that a reversed rainbow, and an appearance of two suns, beheld in London on the 15th of February, foretold the most grave disasters to the kingdom. Parliament having sanctioned the marriage, Mary, to mitigate the dissatisfaction of her subjects to the measure, caused letters, bearing her signature, to be despatched into various quarters of the kingdom, setting forth the advantages to be derived by the increased commerce with Spain, which must inevitably spring from her marriage with its prince. The lord mayor and commons were sent for to court, and were there informed by the lord chancellor of the great benefit London must derive from a similar cause. The Earl of Bedford and Lord Fitzwaters were despatched to Spain to conduct Philip to England; the lord admiral, with twenty-eight ships, having for three months previously been employed in guarding against his meeting any interruption, on his passage across the sea, from any other state. Philip embarked at Corunna, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, and arrived at Southampton on the 20th of July. He was the first man of the fleet who set foot on the British shore; on touching which, he drew his sword, and bore it in his hand. The Earl of Arundel, lord steward to the queen, immediately invested him with the George and Garter; the mayor of Southampton presented him the keys of the town, and the lord chancellor was sent by Mary to receive him, and to announce that she herself was on her route to Winchester to welcome him in person. He tarried at Southampton from Friday until Monday, when he set forth for Winchester to meet his future bride, attended by a vast train of English nobles, and by the Dukes of Alva, Medina Cœli, the Admiral of Castile, the Marquises of Burgos, Pescara, and several other Spaniards of high distinction, among whom was the Bishop of Cuenca. Philip brought with him a vast treasure, two cart-loads of coin, and several chests of bullion. It was observed of him, that although affecting to be civil to the English, he never took off his hat to any of the nobility. In proportion to the chagrin evinced by Mary at the repeated and vexatious delays of Philip's coming—a chagrin revealed with somewhat less of maidenly

reserve and queenly dignity than might be wished—was now her satisfaction at his arrival. She forgot that he had never written to her, nor displayed any desire to expedite his nuptials with her. The marriage was solemnised at Winchester, on the 25th of July, being the feast of St. James, the tutelar saint of Spain, Gardiner bestowing the nuptial benediction. Previous to the ceremony, the imperial ambassador from Spain presented Philip with the gift of the Two Sicilies, bestowed on him by the emperor, his father, that Mary might wed a king and not a prince; and after it, Garter king-of-arms, attended by the heralds, proclaimed their styles in Latin, French, and English, as King and Queen of England, France, Ireland, Naples, and Jerusalem. The royal pair proceeded to Windsor, where Philip and the Earl of Sussex were installed knights of the Garter, and entered London on the 18th of August, where triumphal arches and other expensive demonstrations of rejoicing were exhibited for their reception, at a cost of no less than a tax of fifteen and a half per cent, levied by the common council on the citizens,—a fact which inclines one to suspect the sincerity of rejoicings that cost them so dear. The king and queen remained but a few days in London, whence they proceeded to Richmond, where, dismissing their train of nobility, they returned to Hampton Court. Here it was observed that Mary could hardly suffer Philip from her sight, an injudicious line of conduct to adopt towards so cold and indifferent a bridegroom. He abated nothing of the haughtiness of his manner, was difficult of access, no one being permitted to approach him but with great ceremony, and after asking an audience, which created considerable disgust in the English nobility.

The first measure proposed by Mary after her marriage was little calculated to conciliate the regard of her subjects. She issued a proclamation, directing what persons she wished to be chosen for parliament, and succeeded in having the pope's legato received in England, and the establishing the possession of the church lands by the laity. On the opening of parliament the chancellor recommended the coronation of Philip, and a bill was brought in for the repeal of the attainder of Cardinal Pole. Both measures were passed, and had the royal assent given ten days after the opening of the session, which proves how little opposition Mary and her imperious husband had to dread from their subjects.

And now in the fourth month of her marriage, the queen announced her pregnancy. Te Deum was sung, and orders were given for prayers to be offered up for the child's preservation. A household was named

for the expected heir, a cradle provided, and ambassadors named to notify its birth to foreign potentates. Nevertheless, had Mary been forty-nine instead of thirty-nine on her marriage, the likelihood of her giving an heir to the crown could not have been more questioned. It was strongly suspected that the report of her being pregnant was spread to induce her people to bestow the crown on Philip; and as they subsequently saw that the report proved incorrect, they became still more convinced of the justness of their suspicions. Cardinal Pole met the members of both houses of parliament, at Whitehall, on the 28th of November, and having thanked them for repealing his attainder, exhorted them to return to the Church of Rome, their reconciliation with which he was ready to effect, as well as to grant them absolution for all previous errors. This exhortation led to a conference between the committees of the lords and commons; an address, moved by both expressing their desire for a reunion with the papal see, was presented to the king and queen, and the legate at their intercession absolved the whole kingdom. And now it was proposed to repeal all statutes against the pope, the papal supremacy was to be re-established, and the order of spiritual affairs, as they stood previously to the separation from Rome, was to be restored. With this act was joined another fraught with even greater mischief, that for reviving the sanguinary statutes against the Lollards, and for punishing seditious words and rumours; the first offence with the pillory and the loss of an ear, and the second with imprisonment for life. It was pronounced treason to imagine or compass the depriving Philip of the style of King of England, and the publishing that he ought not to enjoy that title exposed the person guilty of so doing to perpetual imprisonment. Nevertheless he was generally spoken of only as "the queen's husband." It was now seen that Mary studied only the wishes of Philip. She was not only ready to adopt all his views, but was well-disposed to enforce their adoption by her parliament. Charles the Fifth pressed her to make war against France; but though Secretary Bourne, by Mary's desire, moved the measure in the house of commons, it was rejected, as was likewise the proposal to parliament to grant to Philip money and men to join the emperor in Flanders, both of which there was little doubt he intended ultimately to use against France. Nor was Gardiner's proposition to the commons to demand a benevolence from all the towns in the realm more successful. This parliamentary resistance to her wishes was highly distasteful to Mary, who had in the early part of the session confidently calculated on

having her husband recognised as presumptive heir to the crown and of having authority vested in him of disposing of the treasure and forces of the kingdom. So far were her hopes defeated, that she could not invest him even with the crown of queen's consort, though on the pretence of her being pregnant, she obtained an act for declaring him, in case of her death, protector of the kingdom, and guardian of her child during its minority, if a male until eighteen, or if a female until fifteen. It was generally believed that even this concession to her wishes would not have been accorded, had not it been strongly suspected that she was not really with child, or that she was not likely to bring forth living offspring. But though this much was recorded, none of the restrictions imposed in the articles of marriage were removed, and the queen and Philip marked their discontent by very unceremoniously dissolving parliament soon after.

Philip now made an effort to acquire some degree of popularity by interceding in favour of Elizabeth, whose release from constraint and presence at court he solicited, as also for the liberty of some gentlemen confined in consequence of the outbreak of Wyatt, and other charges. Gardiner Elizabeth's old enemy, opposed her liberation for some time, but Philip, with deep policy, renewed his entreaties in her favour, actuated, no doubt by the notion that in case of the death of Mary, Elizabeth might be rendered serviceable to his views. Such was, even then, the precarious state of Mary's health, that it required but little prescience to foresee that a long extension of her existence could not be counted on, and he infinitely preferred having Elizabeth as heiress to the English throne to Mary Stuart, who, after her, was next in succession. The Earl of Devonshire was also released from prison, owing to the intercession of Philip, and proceeded to Brussels, where, finding himself narrowly watched, he set out to Italy, and died the following year at Padua—not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Imperialists. The persecution against Protestants was now renewed with rigour. Dr Rogers, prebendary of St Pauls, was burned at the stake at Smithfield, on the 11th of February, 1555, and, five days after, Dr Rowland Tylor met the same terrible death at Hadley, Cardiner, chancellor of the church at Wells, and Bradford, in London. Bishop Hooper met his death on the 9th of February, at Gloucester, and Bishop Farrer, in the following month, in the market place at Carmarthen. This persecution and cruelty excited such indignation and ill will in the minds of her subjects against Mary, that she feared to persevere in the raising troops, and arming ships to

enable her to carry out her desire of coercing her subjects into the admission of Philip, as present ruler, and future possessor of the kingdom, and of punishing her people for their repeated insults to the Spaniards. Yet there is little doubt but that her council and parliament were far more to blame for these horrors, which have cast an eternal opprobrium on her reign, than the now feeble and invalid queen herself. It is to be remembered that most of these persons were the same who had, in the preceding reign, been so hot for Protestantism. The queen had resisted all attempts to make her absolute. She restored, on her accession, all the ancient powers of parliament, and she abhorred standing armies. But it was the curse of her reign that she had such sanguinary bigots as Gardiner and Bonner about her,—such a husband as Philip,—and such ministers as urged her to blood, as in the case of Lady Jane Grey, contrary to her better feelings. These were a race of *parvenus*, whom the queen herself declared, and to their faces, her father had made out of nothing, and who now were eager in their demonstrations of loyal zeal for their own advancement. They were the very same people, too, who, after her death, were as zealous to ingratiate themselves with Elizabeth, and who, reconciled to Protestantism, cast on popery and “Bloody Mary” the foul terms in which they have come down to our times. Elizabeth was as great a persecutor as her sister, but she has escaped with comparative impunity, because Protestant pens have chiefly narrated the events of her reign. “Mary had been a worthy princess,” says Fuller, “if as little cruelty had been done under her as *by* her.” A report was now circulated that Mary’s *accouchement* might be daily looked for, and on the 30th of April all the bells of London were rung for joy of her delivery of a son. *Te Deum* was sung at St. Paul’s, bonfires were lighted, public feastings, and other demonstrations of satisfaction, were made in all parts of the city. One preacher went so far as to give a particular account of the infant prince, whom he described as a prodigy of beauty, strength, and goodness. The intelligence was even conveyed to Antwerp, and produced rejoicings there, the regent having presented one hundred pistoles for the purpose. It turned out, however, that the rumour was utterly void of truth; and although her physicians, desirous to please her, held out hopes that Mary had miscalculated her time, and might look for the event two months later, few, if any, were imposed on, and all that Mary gained was a promise from Philip that he would not leave until she was confined. Her passion for her husband increased until it became a source of positive annoyance to him, and a misery to her. It was evident

to every one that he desired nothing so much as to leave her, and that he only kept terms with her for the furtherance of his ambitious views on her kingdom. Mary is described as being at this period "very lean, pale, worn, and splenetic, sitting on the ground for hours, inconsolable at the thought of her husband's departure, and weeping continually." August having arrived, and there being now no prospect of the *accouchement*, anticipated in the previous June, Philip determined on joining his father in Flanders. He left Whitehall Palace on the 26th of August, at four in the afternoon, passed through London, on his way to Greenwich, the pope's legate on his left hand, and the queen following in an open litter, escorted by a hundred archers of the guard. The Princess Elizabeth, who had been some time at court, and who had been compelled to attend the queen at mass, was sent to Greenwich by water, to avoid, as it was said, exciting those demonstrations of popularity which her presence had latterly been wont to call forth, and which were so mortifying to her sister. On the 29th, Philip took leave of the queen, promising a speedy return, a promise which he neither desisted nor intended to fulfil, and proceeded to Canterbury, where he waited a week for the completion of his equipage,—a mortifying proof that he wished not to spend that time with Mary, who so passionately longed for his company. He did not sail from Dover until the 4th of September, and landed at Calais that night. From Calais he wrote to the queen, recommending Elizabeth to her especial care, and addressed a similar recommendation to the Spaniards, a proof that he already entertained projects relative to her, which after the death of Mary were further developed. The prolonged absence of Philip, so painfully borne by Mary as to increase her ill health and exasperate her temper, was marked by a renewal of the persecutions which have rendered her name odious to posterity. The terrible death of Cranmer, and the spirit with which he met it, had made a deep impression on the minds of the people, but Mary, thinking only of the protracted stay of her husband in Flanders, which wrung her soul with the pangs of jealousy and grief, and for which she wholly blamed her subjects, attributing it to their withholding from him the privileges he sought, wished to wreak on them the vengeance kindled in her heart. To induce Philip to return she would have sacrificed the best interests of her kingdom, and strenuously set to work to acquire for him the power he so long sought. Rumours of conspiracies, in which the name of the Princess Elizabeth was mixed, were continually circulated by those who were all too ready to believe in the guilt of the princess. Elizabeth's own conduct in listening

to fortune-tellers, and the actual plots of her servants, were hard things to get over, when taken in conjunction with the intercepted correspondence between her and the French ambassador: and Mary, tortured by what was occurring abroad and at home, knew not on whom to rely for advice or succour. And now, the abdication of the emperor in favour of his son furnished the latter with a good excuse for remaining abroad, of which he failed not to avail himself, until, wearied by Mary's unceasing entreaties for his return, and desirous of urging England into a war with France, he came back to his unloved and unlovely wife on the 20th of March, 1557, and was met by her at Greenwich. But the happiness of Mary on beholding her husband was but of brief duration; for the Duchess of Lorraine, his fair cousin, for whom it was said he entertained a more than consinly affection, arrived in England, and awakened the jealousy of the unhappy queen, no less by her charms than by Philip's evident appreciation of them. Many were the instances of jealousy betrayed by Mary to this fair dame, who remained in England until the following May. Nor was it the Duchess of Lorraine alone who excited the jealousy of the queen. Philip used all his endeavours to seduce some of the ladies of her court, and failing in his efforts, descended to low intrigues, which were generally animadverted on. The dissatisfaction which he experienced and took no pains to conceal, on finding that his doting wife, however well disposed to forget her duty to her subjects in her blind devotion to his will, *could not induce them to adopt the measures she urged*, led Philip to leave England again in the summer that followed his last visit. This step produced a renewal of Mary's chagrin, which powerfully affected her health; and although she endeavoured to conceal her sufferings, suppressing every demonstration of torture with a firmness seldom equalled, those around her observed the inroad that disease was making on her life. It is a weakness peculiar to sovereigns, when ill, to wish to conceal their danger from their subjects, and courtiers seldom fail to flatter this weakness. Mary, who must have felt that her own terrible state of health forbade the hope of a protracted existence, nevertheless took no step to secure the succession to her sister, unless her satisfaction at Elizabeth's rejection of the Swedish offer of marriage may be deemed a tacit admission of her right to the crown; and when Philip, after the victory at St. Quentin, achieved chiefly, if not wholly, by the military skill and courage of the Prince of Savoy, wished to reward that prince by bestowing on him the hand of Elizabeth, Mary refused to permit any

coercion to be used in the affair, and insisted that Elizabeth should be left to decide for herself on so momentous a question. Perhaps she had gained wisdom by her own experience of the danger to a kingdom in its queen having for a husband one whose habits and interests are so wholly at variance with her own.

A better understanding was now established between Mary and Elizabeth. They met much more frequently, exchanged princely hospitalities, and Mary occasionally bestowed some valuable gifts of jewels on her sister. Nor did the various conspiracies, in which the name of Elizabeth was mixed, produce any unfavourable impression on the mind of Mary. She either disbelieved the rumours, or had learned by experience, that the possession of a crown is not so enviable as to justify severity to the next heir for aspiring to it before it naturally descends to him.

The loss of Calais inflicted a deep wound on the peace of Mary. After the news reached her she drooped apace, and was heard to say, that the loss of Calais so affected her, that when dead, if her body should be opened, it would be found written on her heart. Although informed of her declining state, Philip came not to visit his dying wife, a neglect which must have deeply mortified her. Nevertheless gladly would she have made him her successor to the British throne, had she believed that her subjects would have acquiesced in such a measure. She at length recognised her sister Elizabeth as heiress to the crown; and perhaps there was no act of her reign that afforded so much satisfaction as this last. All anxious to bask in the sunshine of courtly favour flocked around the princess, who thus had a lesson given to her of the instability of the professed devotion of courtiers not likely to be forgotten.

On the 16th of November, 1558, it became evident that Mary's life was drawing rapidly to its close, and on the 17th she expired, after having received the rites of that Church, in the support of which her name had been used to sanction cruelties which have left on it a blot, and that often by warrants issued without her signature, and when she was too ill to be conscious of what was doing around her. From a careful survey of historical facts, we can draw no evidence of the blood-thirsty disposition which has been vulgarly attributed to Mary; but, on the contrary, a beneficent shrinking from acts of injustice and inhumanity. But she was involved in circumstances of state, of religion, and of domestic life, of which she became the victim, and of which she bears the consolidated infamy.

ELIZABETH,

QUEEN REGNANT

As a sovereign, Elizabeth was resolute and sagacious, but personally she was odious. Heartless, treacherous, envious, insatiate of the grossest flattery, coquettish, and vain almost beyond credibility, audacious and unfeeling, history transmits to us the delineation of no female more unamiable and displeasing. These are no measured terms of condemnation and they are meant to be read strictly *au pied de la lettre*. With many of the angry and domineering qualities of her tyrant father, she united, in her personal intercourse with her courtiers, all the levity, and more than the unscrupulous bias of mind, of her unhappy mother. As a monarch, she was never deficient in heart, though she rarely showed any heart, but in all the circumstances of private life she seemed to have been almost equally devoid of both. Wanton, fantastic, capricious, conceited, frivolous, ridiculous, dancing with joints stiffened by time, and ogling striplings from behind a ridge of wrinkles and a profusion of paint, she was all that even the least rigid man would most abhor to detect in wife, sister, or mother.

Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, and was born on September 7th, 1533. Shortly afterwards she was created Princess of Wales, and in the following year declared heir to the throne. In 1536, upon the execution of her mother, her fickle sire in a fit of antipathy proclaimed her to be illegitimate, but soon partially restored her to his favour, probably through the kind intervention of Lady Jane Seymour. The direct succession to the crown, however, he never again bestowed on her, but willed that it should be contingent upon the deaths, without issue, of, first, her brother Edward, and secondly, her sister Mary. Yet though he had withdrawn from her a partial and unjust preference, he seems to have treated her with kindness, and when she was eleven or twelve years old, gave her the celebrated Roger Ascham for a tutor. In the

severely classical and masculine studies in which he engaged her, and in a certain natural congeniality to them in her, may probably be discovered the foundation of much of the singularity of her subsequent career.

During the reign of Edward the Sixth her life was tranquil enough, the most exciting incident during it, being the attempt of Lord Seymour, the brother of the Duke of Somerset, the protector, to induce her to marry him, when she was only sixteen years of age. Certainly the celibacy of this sovereign was not in consequence of a want of suitors; excepting Penelope, never lady was so pursued with matrimonial proposals. Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, was a second pretender to the possession of her hand; and then followed a proposition that she should unite herself to the King of Sweden.—Subsequently, she was successively importuned to wed, *inter alios*, Philip of Spain, the Earl of Arran, the Dukes of Alençon and Anjou, the Archduke Charles, a son of the elector palatine, the Duke of Holstein, the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Pickering, and, at last, *any body*; her parliament promising in their own name and that of the people, to serve, honour, and obey him faithfully, “whoever he might be.” But Elizabeth rejected all their propositions, and asserted and verified in the sequel her intention to die a spinster. For this strange determination various and contradictory explanations are given.

During the reign of Mary, Elizabeth certainly had no opportunity of manifesting the fantastic notions of pleasure and happiness which Fontenelle has so lightly and playfully supposed her to possess; her whole life was but one ceaseless peril and adversity. These harsh trials, however, which are generally so beneficial and mollifying to the heart, made no permanent impression on the unfeminine mind of this energetic princess; and when, in her turn, she obtained the power of persecuting and oppressing, she manifested to another Mary a far greater extent of hate and cruelty than she herself had ever experienced. Yet she must have undergone sufferings which might have tempted her, one would have thought, to have practised a precept of the scholastic knowledge to which she was so partial, which Virgil puts into the mouth of a lady almost as erring as herself,—

“Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.”

When Mary was necessitated to contend with the rebellion of Northumberland, Elizabeth levied a thousand horse to support her; but little did this attempt to ingratiate herself avail. Her religion, and



L. de Witt sculp.

her position in relation to the succession to the crown, were her first offences ; by obtaining the predilections of Countenay, Earl of Devonshire, whom Mary is supposed to have been willing to marry, she completed the sum of her unintentional provocations. From this moment the animosity of her sister to her was unbounded and undisguised ; and probably her life would have been the victim of it, after Wyatt's insurrection, but for the intercession of her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. This prince may certainly be said to have preserved her existence ; not from affection or humanity, for a more unrelenting bigot and despot never existed, but to prevent the annexation of England to the crown of France,—an event which must have occurred if Mary of Scotland, and wife of the dauphin, had inherited the former kingdom. The dread of this immense accession to the power of the hereditary enemy of Spain, instigated Philip to interpose a constant barrier between Elizabeth and the atrocious malice of his sanguinary wife—a happy accident, to which the English are indebted for the most prosperous reign in their history.

The circumspection of this young princess during her long term of trial was great and admirable. To all the machinations of her enemies to entrap her into some act which might serve as a pretext for her condemnation, she opposed an invincible prudence and discretion. When, thinking that she would have been eager to purchase escape from personal danger at any cost or sacrifice, a marriage with the King of Sweden was suggested to her, instead of precipitately accepting the proposal, she cautiously demanded whether her sister had been made acquainted with it. This inquiry receiving an unsatisfactory reply, she desired that the matter might be formally communicated to Mary, who, though doubtlessly previously possessed of the knowledge, feigned to thank her for her loyal and dutiful information, and to permit her to decide according to her own inclination. Afterwards, when subjected to the more perilous ordeal of an examination into her religious principles, she was undaunted and self-possessed ; and being desired to state her sentiments respecting the doctrine of the real presence, she replied, after a momentary consideration,—

“ Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and break it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.”

This ingenious subterfuge and jargon seems to have completely

perplexed and confounded her malicious interrogators ; for we do not hear that they renewed their attempts to entrap her into some avowal which might have conducted her to the stake.

Upon the death of Mary, November 17th, 1558, Elizabeth being then only twenty-five years old, succeeded to the throne of England. Her first public acts were temperate and generous ; for though determined to restore the Protestant religion, she showed no animosity to the Catholics, or vindictiveness to her own previous persecutors. Her toleration was general ; all the bishops she received with kindness and affability, with the sole exception of the fell Bonner, that dark and sanguinary miscreant, from whom she indignantly turned with too well-merited manifestations of abhorrence and disgust. She then recalled her ambassador from Rome, prohibited preaching without license and the elevation of the host, and in other ways displayed such an unequivocal determination to suppress the Catholic religion, that her ministers found great difficulty in obtaining the assistance of a prelate to crown her. When, however, that ceremony had been performed, and her title to the throne acknowledged by a parliament, she confirmed all Edward's statutes relating to religion, appointed herself 'governess of the Church, and then abolished the mass and restored the liturgy. Those great and hazardous changes, the least of which in unskilful hands might have created a civil war and overthrown a dynasty, were effected by Elizabeth without any resort to violence on her part, or any agitation amounting to disturbance on the part of her Catholic subjects. To complete fully his estimate of the difficulty of this vigorous and dexterous deed, the reader must recall to mind the years and sex of the perpetrator of it ; and then, however distasteful to him may be the character of Elizabeth as a woman, he will readily admit that as a ruler she must have been endowed with many eminently appropriate qualities and talents.

Lord Bacon relates that, on the morrow after her coronation, " It being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, Elizabeth went to the chapel, and in the great chamber one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition ; and, before a great number of courtiers, besought her with a loud voice, ' That now this good time there might be four or five more principal prisoners released ; these were the four Evangelists, and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in a prison so as they could not converse with the common

people.' The queen answered very gravely, 'That it was best first to inquire of them whether they would be released or no.'

This was the character of all her alterations and amendments, at the present, and during a long subsequent period: she did nothing precipitately or capriciously, but, before the enactment of any important measure, was always careful to learn whether the people "would or no." This commendation, however, is very far from being intended to apply to the whole of her career: for many were the despotic acts she afterwards committed; and she burthened the nation with the most distressing monopolies and patents, which were far more injurious to them than the heaviest taxes, and certainly without previously demanding their "yea or nay." Camden mentions that "after the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the privilege which the English enjoyed as sole possessors of the Russian trade. When the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that 'princes must carry an indifferent hand as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few.'" To which statement Hume subjoins the following judicious remark: "So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Queen Elizabeth!" But this impolicy originated in no want of circumspection or deliberation, but in the detestable egotism of her character: she felt that a frequent application to parliament for subsidies would give to that body an influence in her councils; and selfishly, therefore, she resolved to sacrifice the nation's interest to her own haughty and arrogant love of independence, even when disastrous and illegitimate.

In the year 1559 occurred the commencement of Elizabeth's tyrannical intercourse with the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots. Originally some foundation existed for an animosity which was afterwards, and for so many years, sustained by a sorry feminine spite and vanity. Mary had tolerated, if not encouraged, the asseverations of her partisans, that her claim to the throne of England was preferable to that of her masculine and powerful rival. She had also been rash enough to commit the still graver offence of assuming the arms of England, and quartering them on all her equipages and liveries; and maintaining and justifying this act when remonstrances were addressed to her, Elizabeth clearly saw that it was personal to herself, or else why had it not been perpetrated during the reign of her sister?

Consequently it could only be viewed as an indication of an intention to question the legitimacy of her birth, on the first favourable opportunity, and to dispute her right to the throne. *Inde iræ*: these were provocations sufficient to engender in the selfish and energetic mind of Elizabeth a mortal hatred.

Thus, by personal rancour, public policy, and religious bias, she was incited to interfere in the affairs of Scotland, and to give her strongest support to the Protestants of that country. The publication of state documents of that period recently, has shown that Henry the Eighth established a regular system of *espionage* in Scotland, which was carefully maintained by Elizabeth. The great object of the Tudors was to bring Scotland under the dominion of England. It is now clearly established that when Mary of Scotland retired, after the death of Francis the Second, from France to her own kingdom, nearly the whole of the Scottish nobles were in the pay of Elizabeth, and that Mary actually came home into the bosom of a nest of aristocratic traitors. Those nearest to her throne, not excepting her half-brother, were spies upon her, and misrepresenters of her actions, working against her and in the interest of the English queen. When, therefore, emissaries were despatched to her by the leaders of the congregation, to solicit from her succour, she gladly granted it, and equipped a fleet, which she ordered to co-operate with Mary's rebellious subjects. The result of this alliance was the defeat of the Scotch and French Catholics, and the execution of a treaty of peace, in which, among other important concessions, Mary was made to stipulate to abstain from bearing the arms of England. But Mary, as long as her husband Francis the Second lived, refused to ratify the proceeding of her ambassadors; and though after his death, which occurred in 1560, she desisted from assuming any longer the arms, she refused to forego her claim to them.

For the sake of truth, and for the sake, too, of the delicacy of our readers, we will affirm our belief that Elizabeth's historical "amours" were but flirtations; stupid, ridiculous, and most reprehensible, yet still only flirtations. Having thus, we trust, demonstrated this our persuasion, we shall now proceed, with diminished diffidence, to narrate some of the many disagreeable passages in the life of our wilful and unexemplary queen.

The affair of Raleigh and his cloak is universally known; and we shall therefore prefer to relate some incidents connected with her partiality to Leicester, which are not so generally notorious. Sir

James Melville, the ambassador of Mary at the court of Elizabeth, was an observing man, well skilled in the world, and an accomplished courtier. He had been selected by his mistress for this office as a sort of spy upon the weaknesses of her rival, and also as a suitable person to ingratiate himself with her, and thus qualify himself to promote a good understanding between the two queens. How competent he was for observation, the following extracts from his work will show :—

“The ceremony of creating Lord Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester was performed at Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his robes, he sitting with his knees before her with a great gravity : but she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smiling and tickling him ; the French ambassador and I standing by.” He subsequently adds, “The queen, my mistress, had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied ; she being well informed of that queen’s natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women were not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said, she had clothes of every sort ; which, every day thereafter so long as I was there, she changed. One day, she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me, which of them became her best ? I answered, in my judgment, the Italian dress ; which answer I found pleased her well ; for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, and curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me what coloured hair was reputed best ? and whether my queen’s hair or hers was best ? and which of them two was fairest ? I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them both was fairest ? I said, that she was the fairest queen in England, and mine in Scotland. Yet she appeared in earnest ; I answered that they were both the fairest ladies in their countries ; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She inquired, which of them was of higher stature ? I said, my queen. Then, said she, she is too high ; for I, myself, am neither too high nor too low.”

Having learned from Melville that his mistress sometimes recreated herself by playing on the harpsichord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she gave orders to Lord Hunsden that he should lead the ambassador, as it were casually, into an adjoining room, where he

might overhear her perform. When Melville, as if ravished with the harmony, broke into the queen's chamber, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion ; but soon, affecting to be appeased, demanded of him whether she or Mary best performed on that instrument ?

On another opportunity, she was equally ridiculous before the ambassadors of Holland. The incident is thus related by Du Maurier :—

“ Prince Maurice, being one day in a pleasant humour, told my father that Queen Elizabeth was, as the rest of her sex, so weak as to love to be thought handsome : that the States, having sent to her a famous embassy, composed of the most considerable men, and, among others, a great many young gentlemen ; one of them having, at the first audience, stedfastly stared at the queen, turned to an Englishman, whom he had known in Holland, and said, that he could not conceive why people spoke so slightly of the queen's beauty ; that they did her great wrong ; that he liked her extremely ; and added many far stronger and less delicate expressions of admiration ; and all the while he spoke, he gazed from time to time rapturously on her, and then again turned to the Englishman. Elizabeth, whose eyes were more fixed on these private persons than on the ambassadors, as soon as the audience was finished, sent for her English subject, and commanded him, under pain of her displeasure, to tell her precisely what the Hollander had said to him ; for she was quite assured, by the manner and gestures of both, that she had been the subject of their conversation. The gentleman for a long time hesitated to comply, alleging that only trifles were spoken, equally unworthy and unfit to be communicated to her majesty ; but Elizabeth peremptorily persisting, he was at length compelled to tell her the love which the Dutchman expressed for her person, and the very phrases in which his admiration was conveyed. The result of this affair was, that each ambassador was presented with a gold chain worth two hundred pounds, and each of their retinue with one worth twenty-five pounds ; but the Hollander who had lauded the queen's beauty in language which cannot be repeated, received a gold chain worth four hundred pounds, which chain he wore about his neck as long as he lived.”

In Sir Walter Scott's “ History of Scotland ” is a passage which records her vanity with such whimsical gravity, that it must be transferred to these pages in his own words :—

“ Throughout her whole reign, Queen Elizabeth, pre-eminent as a sovereign, had never been able to forbear the assertion of her claims as a wit and as a beauty. When verging to the extremity of life, her

mirror presented her with hair too grey and features too withered to reflect, even in her own opinion, the features of that fairy queen of immortal youth and beauty, in which she had been painted by one of the most charming poets of that poetic age. She avenged herself by discontinuing the consultation of her looking-glass, which no longer flattered her, and exchanged that monitor of the toilet for the false, favourable, and pleasing reports of the ladies who attended her. This indulgence of vanity brought, as usual, its own punishment. The young females who waited upon her, turned her pretensions into ridicule; and, if the report of the times is true, ventured even to personal insult, by misplacing the cosmetics which she used for the repair of her faded charms, sometimes daring to lay on the royal nose the carmine which ought to have embellished the cheeks."¹

Scarcely can it be believed that the individual who has just been exhibited in forms at once so ridiculous and repulsive, can, under another phase, have extorted from even a Jesuit the following exalted praise :—

"Elizabeth is one of those extraordinary persons whose very name imprints in one's mind so great an idea, that the noblest descriptions that are given of her are much below it. Never crowned head understood better how to govern, nor made fewer false steps, during so long a reign. Charles the Fifth's friends could easily reckon his mistakes; but Elizabeth's foes were reduced to invent them for her. Thus, in her is verified this of the Gospel, 'That often the children of this world are more prudent in their views and aims than the children of light.' Elizabeth's design was to reign, govern, and be mistress; to keep her people in obedience, and her neighbours in awe; affecting neither to weaken her subjects nor to encroach on foreigners, yet never suffering any to lessen that supreme power which she equally knew how to maintain by policy or force; for none at that time had more wit, management, and penetration than she. She understood not the art

¹ Sir Walter Scott's "History of Scotland," vol. II. "Queen Elizabeth seems to have been a favourite comic theme with this great author and good man. In one of his letters, he mentions the rapturous and almost perennial fits of laughter into which he and his family were thrown by a friend's transmission to him of a drawing of Queen Elizabeth, representing her dancing, according to Melville's statement, 'high and disposedly.' He writes, in reply, 'The imitable virago came safe, and was welcomed by the inextinguishable laughter of all who looked upon the capricious.'" Mr Lockhart adds, "That this production of Mr Sharpe's pencil, and the delight with which Scott used to expatiate on its merits, must be well remembered by every one who used to visit the poet at Abbotsford."—LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*. What may be the sentiments of the many, the writer of this note certainly cannot pretend to determine, but, speaking for himself, he can declare that there are few things could occasion him more amusement than the sight of a drawing cleverly executed, representing Elizabeth in her private chamber, dancing "high and disposedly."

of war, yet knew so well how to breed excellent soldiers, that England had never seen a greater number, or more experienced, than those which existed during her reign.¹

Yet of this great and penetrating sovereign was Lord Robert Dudley for many years the declared favourite. He had even great influence in her councils, though as utterly unworthy of public as of her private distinction. Proud, insolent, selfish, ambitious, deficient in generosity, honour and humanity, and atoning for none of his vices by the possession of either talent or courage, he contrived to blind and sway the queen solely by the charms of his person, address, and carriage. Such was her infatuation that during a large portion of her reign he was in constant hope of becoming her husband, and to obtain this great object of his selfish desires he was supposed to have murdered a lady whom he had privately married. This is the man odious as he was, whom Elizabeth had the craft to propose to be united to Mary, well knowing that that unfortunate sovereign would never descend to so unequal and ignoble an alliance. But with this offer was connected one amusing feature, the excessive fear of Leicester lest the proposition should be accepted. He was furious against Cecil with whom he believed it to have been originated as a wily scheme intended to have made him equally distasteful to both princesses. But the truth is that Elizabeth, in spite of all her partiality, valuing him somewhat differently from what he valued himself, was the real concoctor of the project, well assured that it would never be realised. It is this knowledge of his perfect security which imparts such a ludicrous air to Leicester's profound consternation and apprehension.

Elizabeth, though usually only too full of dissimulation and chicanery, never abounded more in these detestable qualities than during the whole long term of her negotiation and intercourse with Mary. Artifice followed artifice, affected urgency only cloaked real opposition, when she seemed to hasten, she was only labouring to retard, and the expression of a wish to be circumspect was only the masque for some incentive to precipitancy. In fact, her whole life was one continual stratagem in dealing with any whom she disliked, and great must have been the ability of those who could have discriminated her true objects from her false representations. For years, by her treacherous and malignant manœuvres, she contrived to prevent the re-marriage of a youthful and royal widow, who possessed certainly

¹ "Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre" tom. II. Paris, 1823.

none of her own incapacity and dislike to wedlock, and who had a greater number of *real* suitors than probably even Elizabeth herself had ever attracted. No doubt that, with regard to some of the candidates, political reasons existed to render an English sovereign reluctant that they should obtain the hand of the Scottish queen; Don John of Austria, for instance, would have been but a sorry neighbour for the British crown. But even when the proposition was made to her that Mary should be united to Darnley, a match to which no public obstructions existed, the rancorous opposition and finesse were not only not suspended, but appeared to be augmented.

The subject of marriages was indeed a fruitful source of torment to her: the very possibility of any body connected with the royal blood of England, or of any favourite of herself, daring even to contemplate wedlock, seems to have had the power of rendering her almost insane with wrath and malice. This morbid state of mind was the cause of her cruel treatment of the unhappy Lord Hertford and his consort Lady Catherine Grey. Her conduct to these distinguished persons was atrocious: she fined them ruinously, committed them to the Tower, and detained the husband in captivity during nine years, without even attempting to allege against them the commission of the smallest crime, excepting that gravest and blackest in her distorted vision—wedlock.

The truth is, that if any one of the present day desires to acquire an entire knowledge of Elizabeth, he must search for it not only among the English and Scotch, but among foreign contemporary writers. The ambassadors of these times were the most wily and insinuating of men, and the most acute and cautious of spies; and there is no doubt that they obtained information at the courts to which they were accredited, often not accessible even to the most influential of the natives. Imagine how profoundly subtle must be the man who would be selected by such a woman as Catherine de Medici to be her emissary at a state over which presided such a woman as Elizabeth! From these men proceeded, especially after the death of the latter, many valuable particulars and disclosures, all of which were recorded by the continental authors; and, to name only three, he who has not perused Du Maurier, Leti, and principally Bayle, has not a complete notion of this extraordinary princess.

Her conduct in relation to the contemplated marriage of herself with two successive Dukes of Anjou was in complete accordance with the determination she expressed to Melville and so many others, "that

she was resolved to die a virgin." It is evident that she never had the smallest intention to unite herself with either of them ; though to establish this opinion in his mind, the reader must not limit himself to a consultation of the pages of Hume. This great historian reveals, that with respect to the elder duke, the whole negociation was equally a stratagem, both with regard to Catherine and Elizabeth ; but with regard to the second, he seems to think that her affections were involved, though the object of them was, what he does not state, "a very ugly man." The most amusing feature of this grand contention of wile between two such illustrious practitioners as the queen-mother of France and the maiden-ruler of England is, that each being far too clever to fail, only succeeded by each cheating the other. The object of Catherine was to prevent suspicion arising in the mind of either Elizabeth or the Huguenots of her sanguinary resolutions with regard to the latter, by courting the alliance of a protestant princess for her son. The object of Elizabeth, in responding to the snare, was the knowledge that she could render it the means of weakening the ties between France and Scotland, and of intimidating Spain. The purposes of both the arch-deceivers were obtained, and both, therefore, were mutual dupes ; yet one would have thought that either of two such persons might safely have said to the other, what Grimbald demands of Philidel,—

" Wouldst thou, a devil, hope to cheat a devil ! "

After even the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, still the scheming queen would not manifest her horror and disgust for the diabolical perpetrators ; but rather than offend France utterly, and appear isolated to Spain, she consented that an attempt should be commenced to negotiate a marriage between her and the Duke of Alençon, the younger brother of her previous suitor. This affair languished for no less a term than nine years ; when Alençon himself, who had succeeded to the title of Anjou, and *was*, probably, innocent—being restless, weak, and ambitious—sent over an ambassador to plead his suit, preparatory to his own visit to England. This emissary, whose name was Simier, seems to have been a clever, specious man, and completely qualified to fool the queen "to the top of her bent." So entirely did he succeed, that at last even the jealousy of Leicester, who had now been the predominant favourite for so many years, was aroused, and he began to fear that the affections of the queen had really been won for either the agent or the principal. To render the former, if not both,

odious, Leicester spread a report that Simier had gained an ascendant over her majesty, not by natural means, but by incantations and love-potions. In revenge for this libel, the object of it communicated to the queen, what none had hitherto dared to disclose to her, that Leicester had committed no less heinous an iniquity than that of having married, without his sovereign's knowledge, the widow of the Earl of Essex. This was touching Elizabeth on her sore, or rather her mad, point. Her fury was awful: she threatened to confine the criminal in the Tower; and why she did not execute her threat, seems now quite inexplicable. The consequence of this recrimination, on the part of Simier, was such a feud between him and Leicester, that the latter is supposed to have employed an assassin to rid him of his enemy. As soon as the report of this sanguinary intention reached the queen, she issued a proclamation, taking the French minister under her immediate protection; so cleverly had this wily man ingratiated himself with one who had an irresistible affection for all the idlest and emptiest gallantries and levities.

At last, the principal himself arrived in London; and though, as we have stated, he was her favourite aversion, a *very* ugly man, she assumed towards him such an attitude as could not fail to make him believe that ultimately she would bestow upon him her hand. A rapid succession of balls and courtly festivities ensued; the people were deceived as well as the lover; and a citizen wrote an angry attack on her majesty, entitled "*The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French marriage.*" The writer was apprehended, tried, and sentenced to lose his right hand as a libeller; but such was the courage, and such almost the slavish loyalty of the man, that as soon as the sentence had been executed, with his left hand he grasped his hat, waved it round his head, and shouted, "God save the queen!"

Robertson says, "Elizabeth had long amused the French court by carrying on a treaty of marriage with the Duke of Alençon, the king's brother. But whether, at the age of forty-five, she really intended to marry a prince of twenty, whether the pleasure of being flattered and courted made her listen to the addresses of so young a lover, or whether considerations of interest predominated in this as well as in every other transaction of her reign, are problems in history which we are not concerned to resolve. During the progress of this negotiation, which was drawn out to an extraordinary length, Mary could expect no assistance from the French court, and seems to have held little

correspondence with it, and there was no period in her reign wherein Elizabeth enjoyed more perfect security."

All these suppositions are most sensible and probable, and if we add to them the fact that for a time Elizabeth greatly feared that if rejected her suitor would have married the daughter of Philip we find at once her motives for the performance of this amatory farce. But farce, as well as tragedy, must have its last act, for the sake of both actors and spectators and as soon as Elizabeth found that she had thoroughly wearied both herself and others, she dropped the curtain on an exhibition which had been sustained for simply *ten* years, and gave the cajoled and unfortunate dupe his *congé*. He walked down the stairs expressing very naturally, unbounded disgust, and railing vehemently against the inconstancy of women in general, and of islanders in particular. A ring which the royal jilt had given him he cast from him in his wrath then fled the country repaired to the Netherlands whence he was soon expelled, returned to France, and there died the dupe if not the victim, of a ruthless intriguante and coquette.

Of the public incidents of this reign we shall take no further notice. The destruction of the Spanish Armada is a tale known by heart, and the other great event the decapitation of Mary, is almost equally notorious. We shall therefore merely report what a pious and benevolent pope remarked upon the latter subject.

Pope Sixtus having caused the Count de Popoli to be beheaded, rejoiced with his favourites at having obtained the head of a count. But when he was acquainted with what had befallen in England, he began to esteem nothing in the world to be compared, either in felicity or greatness, to Queen Elizabeth, of whom as if he bemoaned the conquests of Alexander, he said "O beata famula, che a gustata il prece di far saltare una testa coronata!"

We shall now resume Elizabeth's personal history. Three of her chiefly distinguished lovers being now disposed of, we have only to deal with the last and most influential—Essex. Robert Devereux, who bore this title, which he rendered tragically celebrated was born in 1567, consequently was thirty four years younger than Elizabeth. Though Leicester never entirely acquired her favour after the revelation to her of his marriage, it was not until after his death that Essex seems to have had any hold upon the partiality of the queen. In 1591, when

"O! what a man who has tasted the base of chopp of a crowned head!"—DARE'S
HUMAN LITERATURE

she confided to him the command of the expedition despatched to support Henry the Fourth, he had evidently attracted her favourable notice ; but in 1597, when Lord Effingham was intrusted by her with secret orders to prevent Essex from exposing himself to the chief risk in the attack upon Cadiz, her predilection had become so strong that she seems not even to have possessed the decent desire to disguise it : yet at this time she had nearly perfected thirteen lustres, or, in other words, had just arrived at the sober age of sixty-five.

Lord Bacon has left an elaborate attempt at an apology for his own shameful conduct to Essex in his disgrace, in which, without at all clearing himself, he describes, in the most characteristic manner, the universal peremptoriness and wilfulness of this authoritative and wayward sovereign. Nothing was too large or too small, too wide or too narrow, to escape her supervision and imperious interference. A curious extract from the pages of Hentzner, a traveller cited by Hume, shall now be laid before the reader ; and we imagine we shall then have finally demonstrated that a residence at the court of Elizabeth could neither have been very pleasant, nor at all encouraging to a man of sense, of feeling, and self-respect.

"No one spoke to Queen Elizabeth without kneeling, though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eyes, every one fell on his knees. Even when she was absent, those who covered her table, though often persons of quality, neither approached it, nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times."

The names of Shakspeare, Sir Philip Sydney, and Spenser have cast an imperishable lustre over the reign of Elizabeth ; yet, after all, this was not a school in which to have reared high-minded and honest men. The intensity of their emulation stimulated the talents of her ministers and courtiers ; the state and its mistress had brilliant and indefatigable servants ; but among the courtiers Diogenes would have failed to discover the object of his search.

We shall now extract from the pages of Bayle, the account of her death, and the occasion of it :—

"After the execution of the Earl of Essex, the queen was a pretty long time as merry as before, particularly during the embassie of Mareschal de Biron. Therefore 'tis very likely, that if she died for grief upon account of the Earl of Essex, 'twas not so much because she had put him to death, as because she came to know that he had recurr'd to her clemency in such a way as she had promised would

never fail. M. du Maurier will explain us this little mystery :—It will neither be needless, says he, nor disagreeable, to add here what the same Prince Maurice had from Mr. Carleton, the English Ambassador in Holland, who died secretary of state, so much known under the name of Lord Dorchester, a man of very great merit, viz—That Queen Elizabeth gave a ring to the Earl of Essex, in the height of her passion, bidding him to keep it well ; and that whatever he might do, she would forgive him, if he sent her back the same ring. The earl's enemies having since prevailed with the queen (who, besides, was provoked by the earl's contempt of her beauty, which decayed through age), she caused him to be tried for his life ; and in the time of his condemnation, still expected that he would return her ring, when she might pardon him according to her promise. The earl, in the last extremity, had recourse to the wife of Admiral Howard, his kinswoman, and entreated her, by means of a person he trusted, to deliver that ring into the queen's own hands ; but her husband, one of the earl's mortal enemies, to whom she imprudently revealed it, having hindered her from performing the message, the queen consented to his death, full of indignation against so haughty and fierce a man, who chose rather to die than fly to her clemency. Some time after, the admiral's lady being fallen sick and given over by her physicians, sent the queen word that she had a secret of great importance to disclose to her before she died. The queen being come to her bedside, and having caused every body to withdraw, the admiral's lady delivered to her preposterously that ring from the Earl of Essex, excusing her not delivering it sooner, because her husband would not let her. The queen withdrew instantly, struck with a mortal grief, passing fifteen days sighing, without taking any sustenance, laying herself down on her bed with her clothes on, and getting up a hundred times in the night. At last she famished and grieved herself to death, for having consented to the death of her lover, who had recurr'd to her mercy."

Thus died a woman, who, with all her levity and lack of modesty, is yet most probably entitled to demand of posterity to inscribe on her tomb, "*Here lies a virgin queen*;" though posterity, or at least the austere portion of it, may, in acceding to her claim, feel disposed to stipulate, that the orthography of the last word shall be changed, and that it shall be written "*quean*." Even in her own day, such was the opinion of some of the Puritans ; but widely different were the impressions she left in the minds of the many. As a specimen of the unbounded admiration which her subjects continued to express for her

after her death, we will extract from old Camden a species of epitaph, which he composed for her. We print it as we find it in the original folios, determined that the encomiastic antiquary shall not be deprived by us of any of his loyal intentions to be emphatic.

"Alas! how inconsiderable is her monument in comparison of the noble qualities of so heroic a lady! She herself is her own monument, and a more magnificent and sumptuous one than any other. For let these noble actions recommend her to the praise and admiration of posterity:—RELIGION REFORMED, PEACE ESTABLISHED, MONEY REDUCED TO ITS TRUE VALUE, A MOST COMPLEAT FLEET BUILT, OUR NAVAL GLORY RESTORED, REBELLION SUPPRESSED, ENGLAND FOR FORTY-THREE YEARS TOGETHER MOST PRUDENTLY GOVERNED, ENRICHED, AND STRENGTHENED, SCOTLAND RESCUED FROM THE FRENCH, FRANCE ITSELF RELIEVED, THE NETHERLANDS SUPPORTED, SPAIN AND IRELAND QUIETED, AND THE WHOLE WORLD TWICE SAILED ROUND."

Yet, after all, we must not be too prone to be perpetually lauding her political sagacity and conduct. Her success and glory were probably as much the effect of chance as of talent. Not by benevolent objects wisely adopted and resolutely pursued, but by accidents of temper and disposition, she happened to be the ruler for her time. If her people had not been as pliant and servile, as she was wilful and imperious, instead of an increase of the national power, rebellion and ruin must have occurred. If her actions be closely investigated, the sources of the public prosperity will be found more in her vices than in her virtues; yet during her reign, England obtained so vast an advance in the European system, that not only her own subjects, but succeeding generations, have been unable to scan her except through an atmosphere of light which dazzles and confuses their judgment. Even the philosophical and dispassionate Hume is repeatedly yielding to what may be termed an hereditary incitement to commend extravagantly her talents for empire; and the consequence is, that he is constantly contradicting in one page what he advanced in a prior one. Yet no one knew better than this great historian the real causes of her splendid career; for, after repeating a series of her most arbitrary, dishonest, and impolitic public acts, he adds:—"Notwithstanding this conduct, Elizabeth contrived to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the sceptre of England, because the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinions generally entertained with regard to the constitution."

ANNE OF DENMARK,

QUEEN OF JAMES THE FIRST

ANNE was the second daughter of Frederick the Second, third king of Denmark, in the line which succeeded that of Chriustien the Second, deposed for his extravagant excesses. She was born on the 12th of December, 1575. Her grandfather was the greedy Lutheran who absorbed the whole property of the Church into his civil list; and who strengthened his crown by uniting to it in perpetuity his father's duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Her father became wealthier still by the tolls of Elsinore, and by enormous duties on a particular and very popular beer. Her brother, younger than herself by fifteen months, who succeeded to the Danish throne in his eleventh and was crowned in his twentieth year, became James the First's boon companion, and was the king so celebrated in *Howell's Letters* for having drank thirty-five toasts at the great banquet at Rhensburgh. He was carried away in his chair at the thirty-sixth, and left the officers of his court unable to rise from the floor till late next day.

Little is known of the youth of the princess Anne but that she was borne about in arms till she was nine years old. Before she was ten, there was talk of her marriage at her father's court. A daughter of Denmark, in the preceding century, had been wedded to a Scottish king; and questions of territory, involving the ultimate possession of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, remained unsettled between the two countries. These now induced the proposition of a similar alliance, and the hand of this young princess was offered to the reigning king of Scotland. Four years had to pass, however, before state objections to the marriage were removed; and when it was celebrated by proxy at Cronenburg, on the 20th of August, 1589, Anne's father was dead, and the kingdom was governed by a regency in her brother's name. From Cronenburg, at the close of the ceremony, a fleet of twelve Danish ships set sail for Scotland, to convey the wife to her new home;



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but adverse winds arose, and after making the Scottish coast the Danish admiral was twice driven back to the coast of Norway. It was not thought expedient to hazard a third attempt; and the young queen remained at Upslo till her husband should be made acquainted with this unlooked-for interruption to her voyage. A messenger was sent to James.

He swore at once that witchcraft was at the bottom of it, and he had great faith in his power over witches. He had been busy torturing and burning old women for this imaginary crime while Elizabeth of England was murdering his mother; and his experience gave him confidence that he might voyage safely to Upslo himself, and bring his wife safely home. Of any notion that such an enterprise might be prompted by conjugal eagerness he has been careful to disabuse posterity; having drawn up a statement of its secret reasons for the members of his privy council, in which he laboriously clears himself of that imputation. He begins the paper by stating that public and not private considerations had governed him altogether in the matter of his marriage; for as to his "ain nature," God be his witness, he could have abstained "langer nor the welfare of his country" could possibly have permitted. As to the journey over sea he was now about to make, he describes it as a determination of his own, "not aane of the haill council being present;" and which he had taken thus privately as a contradiction to the common slanders that his chancellor led him daily by the nose, and that he was an irresolute ass who could do nothing of himself. Besides, he characteristically adds, there was really no danger. Set aside the witches, and he was quite safe. "The shortness of the way; the surety of the passage, being clean of all sands, foirlands, or sic like dangers; the harbouries in these parts sa suir; and na foreign fleets resorting upon these seas;" are among the amusing assurances he gives his council that he is not going to put himself in jeopardy for his wife, or any other mortal.

In November, 1589, at Upslo, James and Anne, he in his twenty-fourth and she in her fifteenth year, for the first time saw each other. He presented himself unannounced, just as he had landed, "buites and all;" and straightway volunteered a Liss, "quhilk," startled not a little at the first sight of her lord, "the queen refusit." Whatever her dreams may have been, on this wind-swept coast of Norway or by the stormy steep of Elsinore, of the lover she was to meet from over sea, they could hardly have prepared her for the waddling, babbling, blustering, unprincely figure, that thus suddenly proclaimed itself the

Scottish king, and tried to fling its arms around her neck in a paroxysm of admiration. The account of James's person which was given a few years later, on authority which has never been disputed, will explain the somewhat natural repulsion awakened by such attempted caresses. The son of an unhappy mother and a miserable marriage, struck even before his birth by the paralysing terror of Rizzio's murder, James was born a coward, and never lived to be able to endure even the sight of a drawn sword. He was of the middle stature, and with a tendency to corpulence, which the fashion of his dress very much exaggerated. His clothes were so made as to form a woollen rampart round his person. His breeches were in great plaits and full stuffed, and his doublets quilted for stiletto-proof. He had little or no beard; and his large eye so rolled after any stranger that came into his presence, that "maney for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance." His tongue was greatly too big for his mouth, and hence he not only slobbered his words in talking but his person in drinking. It was, says honest Balfour, "as if eatting his drinke, wich cam out into the cupe in each syde of his mouthe." His skin was as soft as taffeta sarsenet; and it felt thus, we are told, because he never washed his hands, but only rubbed his fingers slightly in the wet end of a napkin. Finally, he never could walk straight. His steps formed circles; and such from his birth was the weakness of his legs that he was "ever leaning on other men's shoulders." From the first salute of such a companion for life, from the rude embrace of such an indecent clown, the young princess might reasonably shrink a little. She was herself less handsome than she desired to be thought; but she had the spirit and attractiveness of youth; with some boldness of feature she had great liveliness and beauty of expression, and she preserved these charms to middle age.

The marriage was celebrated at Upslo on the 23rd of November; a third celebration took place at Cronenburg in the following January, amid festivities that did justice to the jocund fame of Denmark; and James found the Danish drink so much to his taste, and so approved the depth of the *carousing*, that from month to month he delayed his departure. They were months of unrestricted feasting and debauchery, varied but by visits to Tycho Brahe, whose astrology he revered, and laughed at his astronomy; by marvellous revelations on the subject of witchcraft; and by scholastic disquisitions on predestination and free will. The young queen having thus early foretaste of the life she was to look for in Scotland, uneasy thoughts of that impending

future became soon her unwelcome companions, and she, too, had her visits to astrologers, in the hope of fathoming the years that were to come. They "flattered" her, says Carte the historian, with such computations of James's horoscope as promised his early death. He was to live till he was king of England, and was then to lose his senses and perish in a prison. Already able with calmness to contemplate such a catastrophe, Anne of Denmark landed with James on the shore at Leith, on May-day 1590.

Her first experience in her new dominions was of her husband's poverty and unpopularity. Unwilling contributions, even to the loan of silver spoons, had to be levied for the feast of her coronation, and unruly ministers of the kirk would have omitted that coronation ceremony which made her the Lord's anointed. Nevertheless she was anointed as well as crowned queen; and fountains ran thin claret at the Edinburgh Cross, and pageants were exhibited at the Nether Bow, and for her principal home she selected the palace of Dumfermline; and, not without sundry discontents and bitter personal disputes, her dower was settled, her revenue, and her household. James meanwhile had completed bills of indictment against divers witches, and three or four wretched old women, after torture to induce confession, were burnt for having conspired with witches in Norway to raise the storms that had delayed the queen's coming into Scotland. Elated by his success in this affair, he soon after wrote his *Demonologie*. He could find no better use for the learning whipped into him by George Buchanan, than to help, by its means, to make the rest of the world as besotted with superstition as himself. In much later years, when, on inheriting the English throne, he had given audience to one of the most accomplished men of Elizabeth's court, the only record this able courtier could preserve of the interview might rather have concerned a witchfinder than a so called learned sovereign. "His majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft; and asked me, with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others."

That he had really a fair share of what the world agrees to call learning, is nevertheless not to be denied. But it never profited or bore generous fruit with him. When his great teacher was reproached for having made him a pedant, he answered that it was the best he could make of him. He was probably the most ignorant man that was ever esteemed a learned one. When it was proposed to him to marry a daughter of Denmark, he had to ask where Denmark was, and what

against her, and to justify in some degree the doubts which James, with characteristic generosity and manly self-respect, professed to entertain of the paternity of the son who was born to him in the following year. In the year preceding, it is no less certain, her name had been mixed up with that "bonny Earl of Murray," whose handsome face and melancholy death made him the hero of innumerable songs; and concerning whom old Balfour relates that the queen, more rashly than wisely, some few days before his death "commendit" him in the king's hearing, with too many epithets, as the properest and most gallant man at court, the king replied, "An if he had been twice as fair, ye might have excepted me."

Anne's first child, a son, christened Henry, was born at Stirling, early in 1594. Great were the festivities at his birth and baptism, and very welcome must have been the gorgeous presents that poured in as "God-bairn gifts," for some cups of massive gold that Queen Elizabeth sent were soon "meltet and spendit." Anne's second child, a daughter, christened Elizabeth, was born at Falkland in the autumn of 1596; and the mother fell into sad disfavour with the presbytery for trusting her to the charge of a Scottish noble who had married a Roman Catholic wife. "Guid Lord," prayed one of them in the pulpit, "we must pray for our queen for the fashion's sake; but we have no cause, for she will never do us ony guid." The truth seems to have been that Anne, though bred as a "spleeny Lutheran," had incurred unpopularity with the kirk less for her favours to episcopacy or her toleration of popery, than for a general indifference to all such religious pretensions. She was Erastian. Nevertheless, her daughter Elizabeth was educated without a touch of heresy; became in after-life the heroine of the protestant cause; and through the youngest of her ten children, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, settled the house of Brunswick on the English throne. Anne's third child, also a daughter, was born at Dalkeith, at the close of 1598, was christened Margaret, and died in infancy. In November, 1600, her fourth child, a son, christened Charles, was born at Dumfermline; but the events that directly preceded this boy's birth were of a strange and exciting kind, and very gloomy were the portents which attended his entrance into the world.

The quarrels of the king and queen during the years just recounted had been notorious past concealment. The guardianship of her eldest son was at times the ostensible ground, at others questions of economy and debt, at others avowed and open jealousy. Now it was Chancellor Maitland about whom they hotly contended, now the Duke of Lenox

or Alexander Ruthven, and now the Earl of Marr; nor did Anne scruple to identify herself with that league of James's enemies, who had lately failed in a desperate attempt to seize his person and usurp his authority. So public were these differences become, that the French ambassador reports to his master the fact of Anne having threatened her husband's life; whereto the gallant Henri Quatre observes in reply, that James should save himself by anticipating her. But a nearer view of these contentions is supplied by the correspondence of Sir Ralph Winwood, to whom, shortly before Anne's confinement at Dumfermline, Sir Henry Neville thus writes: "Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement, but rather an open dissidence, between the King of Scots and his wife; and many are of opinion that the discovery of some affection between her and the Earl of Gowrie's brother, who was killed with him, was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy." The writer refers to the tragedy which is known as the Gowrie Conspiracy, which was enacted in August, 1600, at the house of the Gowrie family in Perth, and which is still one of the darkest mysteries in the blood-stained annals of Scotland.

The Ruthvens of Gowrie had been concerned for two generations in deeds which affected the person of James. The son of the Ruthven who first struck at David Rizzio was the Earl of Gowrie who expiated on the scaffold his share in the "raid of Ruthven," to which he contributed such honesty of intention as there was, most of the bravery, and all the humanity. In consenting to his death, to please the profligate Arran whose life Lord Gowrie had saved, James forfeited his deep-plighted word; and it was supposed to have been the uneasy remembrance of this which chiefly induced him, three years later, to restore the family estate and honours. John, the present Earl of Gowrie, had passed his youth in Italy, from which he had borne away every attainable prize of accomplishment and learning; his brother Alexander was only less learned, handsome, and active than himself: and, at the period to which this narrative has arrived, there were probably not two men in Scotland from whom a greater career was expected; who were already so much the darlings of the people, to whom they represented that extreme party in the kirk for which their father had dièd; or who, to all outward appearance, enjoyed so much of the favour of the crown. A great post in the government was supposed to be in reserve for Gowrie, Alexander had received special confidence as principal gentleman of the bedchamber, and their sister Beatrice was the most trusted maid-of-honour to the queen. A week

or two before the catastrophe to be described, James is said to have seen a silver riband belonging to his wife round the neck of Alexander Ruthven; and though the incident can hardly be accepted for a truth, it marks the popular belief of the dangerous height to which the Gowrie family again aspired. Such was their condition on the 5th of August, 1600.

At an unusually early hour that morning, the court being then at their summer-seat of Falkland, near Perth, James disturbed the slumbers of his queen by the noise of his hunting preparations. To her impatient questioning of why he left so early, he replied that he wished to be astrir betimes, for he expected to kill a prime buck before noon. Before noon, however, he had left the chase; and shortly after, by his own account, he was engaged in a mortal struggle, hand to hand, with Alexander Ruthven, in the family house of the Gowries at Perth. In the evening of the day, through a howling wind and rain, he returned to Falkland, the hero of such a bloody tragedy as had not been transacted even in Scotland for many a day. He had left the bodies of Lord Gowrie and his brother dead and mangled on the floor of their own private dwelling, to which he declared they had by false representations enticed him unattended, for the purpose of seizing his person and revenging their father's death, but to which he had himself been able to summon his retinue in time to baffle the traitors, and murder them where they stood, unguarded and unresisting, in the midst of men whose fealty was sworn to them. Never was a story so pertinaciously told as this, so recommended by oaths and asseverations at court, so propped by the terrors of the scaffold, so backed by public thanksgivings ordered at market-crosses, and so generally scouted and discredited. The utmost extent of belief it would seem to have obtained was expressed in the remark of the shrowdest of James's courtiers, that he believed the story because the king told it, but that he would not have given credit to his own eyes, had he seen it. The ministers of the kirk, however, would not sanction even such scant faith. They remembered the hereditary grievances of the Gowries, were grateful for their championship of the extreme presbyterian party, could see no motive but madness for such a projected assassination of the king, and were at no loss for powerful reasons why the king should have been anxious for the assassination of both the Ruthvens. While feemly professions of horror, therefore, and thanksgivings of decent loyalty, rose up from all well-affected quarters, the ministers pertinaciously refused to be dismayed, surprised, or thankful.

They would neither express unfeigned gratitude for the king's deliverance, nor belief that he ever was in danger ; and in this they were joined by the queen, whom they had formerly, in certain open differences with James, lectured from their pulpits on the duties of a wife's submission, but whose rebellion in this case they could hardly quarrel with.

Anne was vehement and inconsolable in her sorrow for the fate of the Ruthvens. Tidings so terrible travel on the wind, and all the news of the dreadful day had reached Falkland some hours before the king's return. He found her plunged in grief that no sense of joy for his safety could assuage ; and it was long before the scenes of altercation and reproach, which then began, ceased to be the gossip of the time. She hoped he had succeeded in the chase, she is reported among other things to have said to him ; and that the buck he had promised to slay was sufficiently noble. Beatrice Ruthven she would still have kept near her person ; and though the king persisted in thrusting her out, their determined and secret correspondences became a public scandal. Nor did Anne afterwards scruple to remark to a noble of the court, who in one of her quarrels for the custody of her children had been told to remind her of the powers which the state had vested in the king, that "the king should not find *her* so easy a prey as the Earl of Gowrie."

It is not necessary to the purpose of this narrative that the subsequent events which threw a strong colour of truth on the king's statement of his danger, and which undoubtedly revealed the existence of a conspiracy in which the Ruthvens had taken part, should here be related. Enough has been said to illustrate the disposition of the queen to her husband, and the circumstances which attended the birth of her second son. She was as far advanced in her pregnancy when the shock of those incidents occurred, as Mary of Scots when she beheld the death of Rizzio. She left Falkland for the castle of Dumfermline, and there awaited her period in seclusion and sorrow, praying "that Heaven would not visit her family with its vengeance for the sufferings of the Ruthvens." On the bodies or bones of the two dead Ruthvens, meanwhile, king and parliament sat according to reverend custom ; and ultimately sentenced them to ignominious exposure on the 19th of November. It proved to be the day on which the second son of James and Anne was born. He was christened Charles, and afterwards inherited the English throne as the first of that name. His baptism was sudden, for he was hardly expected to outlive his birth ; and it

was through an infancy and boyhood of almost hopeless feebleness he struggled to his ill-fated manhood. His complexional weakness, incapable alike of stern resistance or of manly submission, was thus unhappily a part of his most sad inheritance. He was nearly six years old before he could stand or speak, his limbs being weak and distorted, and his mouth mal-formed. He walked with difficulty always; the stuttering hesitation in his speech remained with him to the last, and these were but the types of that wretched weakness of purpose, and obstinacy of resolution, for which his subjects brought him to the scaffold. Verily the sins of the parents are visited upon the children.

The last year of James as a mere Scottish king was probably the quietest he had passed in his troubled sovereignty. As his succession to the English throne drew nearer, his authority in his hereditary kingdom grew more strong. Many of his enemies had perished, others had become impoverished, and all began to think it a wiser and more profitable game to join their king in a foray on the incalculable wealth of England, than to continue their turbulence against him for the poor prizes of his barren and intractable Scotland. But what tamed the laity, made the clergy more furious. They saw their sovereign, seated on the English throne, and surrounded by the pomps of prelacy, newly armed with engines of oppression against themselves, and never was kirk so rebellious, or king so abusive. He protested before the great God that highland caterans and border thieves were not such ungrateful liars and vile perjurers as these "Puritan pests in the church," and, in return, synod after synod flamed up against his libels as unprincely and ungodly. He was in the thickest fury of this contention when the sycophants who had bribed Elizabeth's waiting-women for tidings of her last breath, hurried headlong into Scotland to salute him as English king.

He set out upon his happy journey southward on the 5th of April, 1603. The queen did not accompany him. She had been delivered of a third son, who was christened Robert and died soon after its birth, in the preceding year; she was now again with child, and it was arranged that she should follow within a certain period after the king's departure. But of that departure she at once availed herself to renew from a better vantage ground the old struggle for the custody of her eldest son; and the trouble she gave the nobles with whom the king had left authority, receives amusing expression in the letters of the time. The president of the council writes, that to utter anything like reason or wisdom was but to incense her majesty further against them.

all, and to augment her passions to greater peril. The peril already incurred had cost the life of a young prince, born prematurely, and dead as soon as born. The Lord Fife adds that this passion of her majesty could not "be sa weil mitigat and moderat as by seconding and obeying all her directions, quhilk always is subject to zour sacred majistey's answers and resolves as oracles." His sacred majesty's answers for once deserved to be oracular, for he really wrote sensibly enough. He counselled his wife to leave her froward unwomanly apprehensions; reproached her with a folly he advises her to cure, that he can never account well of an honest and wise servant but she must straightway insist it is to compare and prefer him to herself; and shrewdly bade her, in conclusion, think of nothing but thanking God for the peaceable possession they had got of England.

It was indeed something to be thankful for. His progress to his new kingdom had been an unexpected triumph. Statesmen and sycophants (much the same thing in those days), courtiers, lawyers, clergy, all classes and conditions of public men, had rushed racing against each other, as for life or death, for the first golden beams of the new-risen sun. As Ben Jonson said, in his masterly poet-phrase, they thirsted to drink the nectar of his sight. No matter that his sight turned out to be anything but nectar, rather indeed the sourest kind of small beer; they drank it with not less avidity. He hanged a thief without trial at Newark; he made public avowal of his contempt for women; he "launched out into indiscreet expressions against his own wife;" he suffered high-born dames to approach him on their knees; he shrank with ludicrous terror from drawn swords, and caused them instantly to be sheathed; his dress, his walk, his talk, confounded the congregation of courtiers; and Carte even takes upon himself to say that "by the time he reached London, the admiration of the intelligent world was turned into contempt." The contempt, nevertheless, was well disguised. Magnificent entertainments awaited him at Newcastle and York; with splendour not less profuse, Sir Robert Cary received him at Widdrington, the Bishop of Durham at Durham, Sir Edward Stanhope at Grimston, Lord Shrewsbury at Worsop, Lord Cumberland at Belvoir Castle, Sir John Harrington at Exton, the Lord Burghley at Burghley, Sir Oliver Cromwell at Hinchinbrooke, Sir Thomas Sadler at Standen, and Sir Henry Cocks at Broxbourne, at which latter place the greatest man then living in this universe (save one) awaited to do him prostrate service. "Methinks," said Francis Bacon, after his interview, "his majesty rather asks counsel of the time past than the time to

come ;" and closing up his prophetic vision against the great To Come, that wonderful genius took his first base wages in the service of the obsolete Past. Nearer and nearer London, meanwhile, the throng swelled more and more ; and on came the king, hunting, feasting, creating knights by the score, and receiving worship as the fountain of honour. Visions of levelling clergy and factious nobles, such as had haunted him his whole life long, now passed from his aching sight for ever. He turned to his Scotch followers, and told them they had at last arrived in the land of promise.

But he had yet to see the most important man in this promised land. He was awaiting the royal advent at his seat of Theobalds, within a few miles of London, on the 3rd of May ; and strange must have been the first meeting, at the gate of that splendid mansion, between the broad, shambling, shuffling, grotesque monarch, and the small, keen, deformed, crook-backed, capable minister ; between the son of Mary queen of Scots, and the son of her chief executioner. It is hardly too much to say that Robert Cecil had secured James his throne. He exercised, no doubt, the wise discretion of a statesman in the unhesitating course he took ; he satisfied the national desire, and he brought under one crown two kingdoms that could not separately exist ; but it remains for ever a reproach upon his name, that he let slip the occasion of obtaining for the people constitutional guarantees which could not then have been refused, and might have saved half a century of bloodshed. None such were proposed to James. He was allowed to seize a prerogative which for upwards of fifty years had been strained to a higher pitch than at any previous period of the English history ; and his clumsy grasp closed on it without a sign of question or remonstrance from the leading statesmen of England. "Do I mak the judges ? do I mak the bishops ?" he exclaimed, as the powers of his new dominion dawned on his delighted sense : "Then, Godis wauns ! I mak what likes me, law and gospel." It was even so. Cecil suffered him to make law and gospel as he listed ; left him, by whatever modes best pleased him, to incur contempt and sow rebellion at home ; and contented himself, by a resolute and sagacious policy abroad, with keeping England still respected and feared in her place amid foreign nations. No one served the king so ably, or, there is reason to believe, despised him so much. In her latter years Elizabeth had exacted of her ministers that they should address her kneeling, and some one congratulated Cecil that those degrading conditions were passed away. "Would to God," he replied,

"I yet spake upon my knees!" Not a fortnight after he had received James, indeed, he tells his friend Harrington how heavily it goes with him; how dull to him is the lustre of the new-begotten court; how the breathless crowding, hurrying, feigning, and suing, "doth not well for a cripple;" and how earnestly he wishes that he waited still in the presence-chamber of his great dead mistress. Yet had he no lack of attention to complain of. He was the first peer created by James. At Theobalds he received the barony of Essenden, was made Viscount Cranbourn a few months later, and in the year following received the earldom of Salisbury. He was too capable a man to be one of James's favourites, but too useful to incur his hatred or disregard; and the position he assumed at the first council at Theobalds, he held till death. From that council James had but one rebuff. He asked them to send the crown jewels to his queen, that she might make proper regal display on entering London; but Cecil answered firmly that the regalia of England should not leave the kingdom for a day.

Anne was now upon her journey. She left Edinburgh on the 2nd of June with her two elder children; Charles being still so sickly that he could not travel. Many incidents show that she was still in no temper of agreement with her husband; and his failing to meet her at York, as originally settled, is supposed to have been connected with these differences. The aldermen of York, however, did their best to supply a welcome of all needful splendour; and at each stage in her progress she was joined by English ladies of the highest rank, who hastened to do her suit and service. Thus her temper seems to have softened by the way; and Lady Anne Clifford (afterwards so famous as Countess Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery) gives favourable account of her majesty on seeing her at Sir Thomas Griffin's seat, though she makes sad complaint of the fleas which she says the Scotch ladies had brought up with them. At Sir Robert Spencer's seat of Althorpe a midsummer masque was acted in her honour, for which the services of Ben Jonson had been engaged. The great poet addressed her as Oriana (*oriens Anna*), and hailed her as highest, happiest queen; but the highest, happiest inspiration of his genius had certainly not responded to this first sudden call of the subject. The king joined her at the next stage of her progress; and the festivities at Grafton, Lord Cumberland's seat; at Salden House, the seat of Sir John Fortescue; at Aylesbury, the residence of Sir John Packington; and at Great Hampden, where Sir Alexander Hampden lived, were redoubled. Lady Anne Clifford takes occasion to remark that at these various entertain-

ments the queen "showed noe favoure to the elderly ladies;" but she adds, that "she giveth great contentment to the world in her fashion and courteous behaviour to the people."

At length Windsor was reached (the plague at this time raging in London), and grand festivities were held there early in July. The commencement of disputes in the court, and of those national jealousies which were one of the scandals of the reign, is to be noted at the same time. Two noblemen gave each other the lie in the presence of the queen, who, nevertheless, failed to obtain notice of the affront till she had made angry appeal in writing to the king. The coronation took place at Westminster on the 17th of July. The ceremony was made as brief as possible, for eleven hundred people had perished that week of the plague. But one of the court newsmen of the day informs us that "Queen Anne went to coronation with her seemly hair downhanging on her princely shoulders, and on her head a crownnet of gold. She so mildly saluted her new subjects, that the women, weeping, cried out with one voice, 'God bless the royal queen!'" The royal queen was straightway blessed with an absurdly extravagant dower and household; fixed upon Somerset House, the name of which was changed to Denmark House, for her private residence; and began the court and state of queen consort of England.

That she began with a disposition to make her court the headquarters of intrigue, would seem to be unquestionable. The famous Sully, charged with a special commission from Henry Quatre, soon reported to his master that James had no control over his queen; that, with a stronger mind than his, she did not care to conceal her contempt; and that she was available to cultivate dissension. The despatches of M. de Beaumont were not less explicit. "It is said," writes the French ambassador to his court, "that Cecil is doubtful as to his position; finding the king partly better informed, partly more obstinate, than he thought. Cobham calls Cecil no better than a traitor. Raleigh is hated throughout the kingdom. The new queen is enterprising, and affairs are embroiled." If M. de Beaumont had known Cecil better, he would not have thought the worse of his prospects because affairs were embroiled. It is from the nettlo danger that such men pluck the flower safety. Cecil knew that when Elizabeth should have ceased to breathe, England would be too small for himself and Raleigh to contend for power within it; and there is reason to believe that, among the first words he spoke to James, were those which deprived that formidable rival, already out of favour with the

people for his conduct to Essex, of his captaincy of the guards, and wardenship of the Stannaries. He precipitated him into rebellion. Within a few weeks after Beaumont wrote, Raleigh, Cobham, and the leading men of their party were seized upon a charge of treason. Nor, having made the charge, could Cecil afford that the accused should escape. The scruples of our day were unknown in theirs; and a statesman of the sixteenth century prepared to drive his rival to the scaffold, as a statesman of the nineteenth hopes to drive his out of Downing-street.

The unscrupulous brutality of Coke was employed against Raleigh (in the "Taunt him with the license of ink," of *Sir Toby Belch* to *Sir Andrew Ague-Check*, "if thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it shall not be amiss;" it is pleasant to note Shakspeare's sympathy for the gallantest and most illustrious of contemporary Englishmen); and though he defended himself with a temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, which all men pronounced incomparable, a verdict was obtained. He went into court on the day of his trial, as M. de Beaumont rightly describes him, the most unpopular man in England; he left the court the most popular of Englishmen, but he left it a convicted traitor. Those who would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged in the morning, would have gone as far to save his life before they parted in the evening; but Cecil could now narrow the field of his displays, and put a distance between him and his adherents that no zeal could overleap. The gates of the Tower were opened to receive the greatest man of action which that age had produced, and he never again beheld its outward walls for more than thirteen years. "There is nobody but my father," exclaimed Prince Henry, "who would keep such a noble bird shut up in a cage." Cecil knew he could rely upon his gaoler. When he escaped at last, it was when Cecil's death, and the king's debts, had left anything attainable by corruption. He was liberated on payment of a bribe to two courtiers of some two thousand pounds; he received the king's commission for an expedition to Guiana on promise that its results should load the king's coffers with gold; and on failure of the expedition, and because Spain clamoured for the death of this bravest and most renowned of her enemies, he was murdered without trial by means of his sentence of fifteen years preceding, as if the king's commission could have run to a man dead in law!

Meanwhile the eventful incidents which led to his imprisonment had not passed without their lesson to the queen. It may be remembered

to her honour that she never ceased to feel a sympathy for Raleigh, the chivalrous wonder of whose life would seem to have seized her fancy, but she could not behold him thus suddenly rendered powerless without in the struck sense of the power of his adversary. There is no ground for supposing, that, beyond the distaste she still never hesitated to make unscrupulously manifest against her husband, she took any active part throughout his English reign in counterplotting against his ministers. M de Beaumont, after a little more experience, and when she had piqued him by her too obvious preference of the Spanish ambassador, reported her to his court as proud, vain, obstinate, turbulent incapable of governing or being governed, yet ambitious of power. The Cardinal Bentivoglio, on the other hand, though not in all respects complimentary, speaks with warmth of her pleasing and inoffensive qualities, her grace, good nature, and accomplishments, while Arthur Wilson says that she was not a busybody, or an embroiler of other people's business, and one of the court newsmen writes to Winwood, that, though her wishes are with the Spaniard, better news is, that she carrieth no sway in state matters, and "*placet rem uxoriam habere* no great reach in other affairs." The truth, which doubtless lurks somewhere amid these varying statements, was probably approached most nearly by Molino, who wrote that she had an ordinary appearance, and lived remote from public affairs, that she was very fond of dancing and entertainments, that she was very gracious to those who knew how to promote her wishes, but to those whom she did not like was proud, disdainful, not to say insupportable. That she was neither proud nor disdainful to Cecil, deformed dwarf as he was, there is now no lack of evidence, even to the period of his death. James himself often refers in his coarse vulgar way to his wife's good understanding with the "great little proud man." For be it added that Cecil, besides his other successes, had a reputation for *bonnes fortunes*. Lady Anne Clifford nicely describes the ladies of doubtful character, the Suffolks and Walsinghams, who were 'the great favourites of Sir Robert,' and Francis Bacon, who published his essay on Deformity some month or two after the deformed statesman's death, seems to have penetrated that as well as every other mystery. "Whosoever," says the Chancellor of Mankin, 'hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn, therefore all deformed persons are extremely bold.' It is to this extreme boldness James often coarsely refers in his letters to his 'little beggle' (so he had nicknamed Cecil for his

sure scent, his keen pursuit, his faithful service), "Ye and your fellows there are so proud," would run the dignified monarch's epistle, "now ye have gotten again the guiding of a feminine court in the auld fashion, as I know not how to deal with you and for your part, master Cecil, who are wanton and wifeless, I cannot but be jealous of your greatness with my wife." It is with some similar covert allusion that Arabella Stuart protests in one of her letters she will not tell tales out of the queen's coach, but in another letter the same lady (who, though in the same relation as James to the throne, and put forth as its claimant by Raleigh and his party, had not yet become the victim of the king's despicable cruelty,) reports favourably of the queen as contrasted with the rest of the court, on the occasion of its sojourn at Woodstock. "If ever," she writes, "there were such a virtue as courtesy at the court, I marvel what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the queen, who, ever since her coming to Newbury, hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth their prayers with thanks and thankful countenance, barefaced (that is, without a mask), to the great contentment of native and foreign people." Ladies protected their faces in those days with masques, when riding. It had been one of the popular habits of Elizabeth to lift her mask to the common people, as she rode along, and here Anne shrewdly copied her.

Unhappily for Anne's name in history, however, this favourable contrast between herself and the court cannot be said to have continued. She became identified, as years passed on, with its worst extravagance and excess. David Hume remarks, with melancholy truth, that the history of James's reign is the history of the court, not the nation, and this court, with king and queen at its head, became a scene in which all the actors were without exception odious, profligate, or, in some sense or other, despicable. Its likings were those of Comus and his beastly crew, and such genius as it employed in its service, it degraded almost to its own level. To be a courtier of the highest rank was to indulge all gross propensities with hardly a cover to their nakedness. Elizabeth's circle had been far from the exactest model of decency, but there was strength of understanding in the queen, and it acted with constraint on the vices of those around her, as it served to veil her own. When a vulgar Satyr became chief of the revels, and when such noble poets as Beaumont and Fletcher condescended to make themselves echoes to the revellers, this check, of course, passed wholly away. Everything was in foul excess, and the most frightful

corruption to satisfy it became a thing of course. Women and men were engaged alike. Lady Glenham took a bribe of a hundred pounds to induce her father to transact some dishonourable service. Arabella Stuart herself, who had intrigued for the promise of a peerage for one of her uncles Cavendish, would not, when the time came for claiming it, open her mouth "so wide as a bristle might enter," because he had omitted mention of any gratuity "which might move her to spend her breath for him." Elizabeth had long disused, had even prohibited, the brutal sports of the cockpit; James revived them, and took delight in them, at least twice every week. The fee of the chief huntsman has not been preserved; but the fee of the master of the cocks was equal to the united salaries of two secretaries of state. "Our sovereign," wrote Cecil to Lord Shrewsbury, within a year after the accession, "spends a hundred thousand pounds yearly in his house, which was wont to be but thirty thousand. Now think what the country feels, and so much for that." In the seventh year of his reign that surplus of expense above revenue continued, and his debts were half a million. His necessities became flagrant and shameful. His treasurer Buckhurst was stopped in the street for wages due to his servants, and the purveyors stopped the supply to his table. It would have been hard to say which was most degrading, the extremity of the want or of the means adopted to supply it. Impositions by prerogative were resisted, in the teeth of scandalous decisions by the lawyers, till every member of the house of commons was counted "viper" or "traitor." Fees were got from knighthood till nobody would be knighted; and Bacon, at even *his wit's end*, suggested "knighthood with some new difference and precedence." Hereupon baronetcies were invented, were offered for a thousand pounds each to any who thought fit to be purchasers, and made the king richer by some hundred thousand pounds. The peerage was not less openly put up to sale. A man became a baron for five thousand pounds, a viscount for ten, and for twenty might obtain an earldom. The court, meanwhile, never thought of releasing itself by abating its monstrous extravagance; and while monopolies, increasing on all sides, and exorbitant Star-chamber fines, swelled the popular discontent, the court did not scruple to turn even its commonest amusement to the exasperation and oppression of the people.

The chase, for example, had become well-nigh an innocent pastime, but James made it hateful again; hateful as it was under the Norman kings, as well as contemptible, which then it was not. "I shall leave

him dressed for posterity," says Osborne, "in the colours I saw him in, the next progress after his inauguration; which was as green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side: how suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave others to judge from his pictures" But upon the whole it was no laughing matter. Among the state papers of the time are found very remarkable correspondences in proof of the intolerable grievance it became. It will be enough to mention here the elaborate protest forwarded to Cecil by Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, in which the venerable prelate, as one that honoureth and loveth his most excellent majesty with all his heart, petitions earnestly for less wasting of the treasure of the realm, and more moderation in the lawful exercise of hunting, both that poor men's corn may be less spoiled, and other his majesty's subjects more spared; and to which Cecil makes answer, not by denying, but by excusing the royal prodigality on the ground of the necessity for a liberal expenditure at the beginning of a reign, and by defending hunting as a manlike and active recreation, such as those to which the good emperor Trajan was disposed. The courtly minister should have called the sport womanlike as well, the queen following it as eagerly as her husband. She is the "queen and huntress, chaste as fur," of Ben Jonson's celebrated lines. She handled the cross-bow, too; and was in the habit of shooting with it at the deer, from a stand. But not with remarkable success. She mistook the king's favourite dog for the deer on one occasion, and disabled him for ever. Hawking was another of her favourite amusements; nor can it be reckoned much to her honour that she took prominent part in these sports as carried on by the court crew that surrounded her, when, according to a most honourable witness, "the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food."

After the hunting came the feasting, and here the historian's task is less easily discharged. He is under the reserves of modern usage and manners, and can touch the theme but slightly. There is some indication of the habits of the court in the arrangements for the reception of the queen's younger brother, the Danish Duke of Holst, an awkward youth whom Arabella Stuart laughs at as "the Dutchman," and who had twenty dishes of meat allowed him every meal. But the Danish king's visit two years later gives us clearer insight into the court entertainment and fashionable feasting of the day. He stayed a month, during which time says a contemporary writer, "the court, city, and some parts of

the country, with banquetings, masques, dancings, tiltings, barriers and other gallantry, besides the manly sports of wrestling, and the brutish sports of bruting with beasts, swelled to such greatness, as if there were an intention in each particular man this way to have blown up himself" The allusion is to the great plot then recently exploded, by which Guido Fauv and his friends would have blown "the Scotch beggars back to their native mountains," and the same allusion is similarly made by another not less trustworthy writer "The gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance" It is perhaps fortunate that the more particular account which has transpired of these banquetings, masques, and dancings, riots, and excesses, should be by an eye-witness so faithful and honourable, so incapable of exaggeration or falsehood, as Sir John Harrington, for it would not otherwise be credible He was an invited guest at Theobalds when Cecil entertained the two kings there, and tells his friend Mr Secretary Barlow that English noblemen whom he had never seen before even taste good liquor, he now saw follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights They had women, he adds, and wine of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder, and while the two royal guests were lovingly embracing each other at table, he saw the ladies abandon their sobriety, and roll about in intoxication Cecil had himself invented a masque for the occasion, in which, for a compliment to the modern Solomon, the queen of Sheba was the principal personage; and the other actors were Faith, Hope, Charity, Victory, and Peace But, alas! the lady who personated her majesty of Sheba tumbled helplessly at the feet, or rather in the face, of the majesty of Denmark, who thereupon got up and would have danced with Sheba, "but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen which had been bestowed on his garments" Nor did it fare better with the other actresses Hope tried to speak, but had drunk too much; and withdrew, "hoping the king would excuse her brevity." Faith left the court in a no less staggering condition; and when Charity, unable to cover the sins of her sisters, was obliged to follow, she found them, in the condition and action of sea voyagers unused to the sea, in the lower hall. Victory herself triumphed as little, being, after much lamentable utterance, "led away like a silly captive," and had to sleep on the outer steps of the ante-

chamber ; while Peace, not so helpless in her cups as she was violently quarrelsome, most rudely made war with her olive-branch "on the pates of those who did oppose her." So ended the ever-memorable masque invented by Cecil for delectation of the two delicate kings.

But were all the masques of the reign like that ? Do not we owe to other and more tasteful exhibitions some of the most exquisite products of Ben Jonson's genius ? The fact may be true, and the taste continue more than doubtful. Without attempting to depreciate an entertainment which has given us the *Comus* of Milton, it is certain that these shows were as tasteless as they were extravagant ; and it is not less certain that, in an age remarkable for the grandest gathering of poetic genius that the universe had witnessed, Mr. Campion was a more popular masquer than Ben Jonson. In short, one really cannot discover any higher court object in these celebrated masques than that of personal and not very decent display ; or feel that Jonson's participation in them was other than the merest accident. Cardinal Bentivoglio seems to hit the point of the matter when he thus writes of the queen, for the information of the Roman court : "She delights beyond measure in admiration and praises of her beauty, in which she has the vanity to think that she has no equal. Hence she makes public exhibitions of herself in a thousand ways, and with a thousand different inventions ; and sometimes to so great an excess that it has been doubted which went furthest, the king in the ostentation of his learning, or the queen in the display of her beauty." This is confirmed by a curious anecdote related by Osborne ; who says he himself saw James one evening parting from the queen, and taking his leave at her coach side, "by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of the shoulders ; for so low she went bare," he adds, "all the days I had the fortune to know her ; having a skin far more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendered her very debonair." Other equally good witnesses confirm Bentivoglio's account. "Her great passion is for balls and public entertainments, which she herself arranges, and which serve as a public theatre on which to display her grace and beauty." For this she acted goddesses, negresses, and nereids, and displayed herself as the Indian princess or the Turkish sultana.

Thus she had arranged that pageant in Jonson's fine *Masque of Queens*, wherein twelve ladies were exhibited sitting on a throne in the form of a pyramid, eleven of whom represented the highest and most heroical of queens that had ever existed, and the twelfth was

Anne, in *propria persona*, to whom the poor needy poet gives the name of Belanna, and who is unanimously chosen by the other queens to form the apex of their pyramid, as possessing in her single person all the virtues wherewith it had been the glory of each to be separately adorned! At the suggestion of her peculiar taste, too, Jonson introduced into his *Masque of Blackness* twelve Ethiopian nymphs, daughters of the Niger, who had come all the way to Britun (as the country now begins to be called) in search of a wash to whiten their complexions, and who have nothing to do but show their blackened negress faces, and dance. Sir Dudley Carleton received an invitation to the latter masque, and one or two facts from his account of it may show us what the thing generally was. This exhibition took place in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, and the first thing you saw on entering the room was a great engine at the lower end which had motion, and in which were the images of sea horses, with other terrible fishes, that were ridden by Moors. The indecorum was adds Sir Dudley, that there was all fish and no water. But now you saw near these harmless dragons a great shell in the form of a scallop wherein were four benches, on the lowest of which sat the queen with my Lady Bedford, while on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk Derby Rich, Effingham Anne Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard Walsingham and Bevil. "Their appearance was rich" says Sir Dudley, "but too light and countenance-like for such great ones. Instead of vizards, their faces and arms up to the elbows were painted black." This specimen will be enough, though the close of Sir Dudley's letter, and of the monstrous exhibition it describes, ought not to be omitted. "The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went the tables and tressels before one bit was touched." Another letter-writer of the time enables us to complete this picture of lumbering and ill arranged profuseness, of tasteless yet almost barbaric extravagance. The show is put off till Sunday, by reason all things are not ready. Whatever the device may be, and what success they may have in their dancing, yet you should have been sure to have seen great riches in jewels, when one lady, and that under a baroness, is said to be furnished for better than a hundred thousand pounds, and the Lady Arabella goes beyond her, and the queen must not come behind.

But what, meanwhile, was the opinion of their ruler becoming prevalent among the English people? An intelligent foreigner will describe it for us. Consider, for pity's sake,' says M de Beaumont, in

one of his despatches, "what must be the state and condition of a prince, whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail; whom the comedians of the metropolis covertly bring upon the stage; whose wife attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband; whom the parliament braves and despises; and who is universally hated by the whole people?" The Frenchman's great master, Henri, shortly before he fell by the hand of an assassin, had spoken of the effects of such contempt when directed against the person of a sovereign, as marvellous and horrible; and in this case also they proved so, though in another generation than his who had made himself so thoroughly despicable. "Audacious language," pursues M. de Beaumont, "offensive pictures, calumnious pamphlets, these usual forerunners of civil war, are common here, and are symptoms doubly strong of the bitter temper of men's minds; because in this country men are in general better regulated, or by the good administration of justice are more kept within the sphere of their duties." Be it in justice added, that the assertion in the same despatches that the queen had been using all her efforts to corrupt the mind of the prince by flattering his passions and diverting him from his studies and exercises, out of contempt to his father, does not appear to be well founded. An heir-apparent, in truth, wants no such teaching. From the experience of all history, we may call it his normal state to be in full opposition to the sovereign. The extravagant recklessness of James, who, before the prince was twelve years old, had surrounded him with an establishment more than sufficient for a sovereign, gave in this instance more effect to the hostility; but in itself it was only natural. As James's cowardly instincts were all for peace, Henry's flushed forth into passionate eagerness for war. As James lived upon the sight of Carr, Henry hated him so bitterly that the favourite was charged, and upon no mean evidence, with the prince's premature death. As James imprisoned Raleigh, and laughed at his pursuits, Henry visited him in his prison, proclaimed everywhere sympathy and admiration for him, got him to write upon subjects in which he was interested, and carried him materials for his *History of the World*. "What!" was James's frequent comment on this wilful independence of his heir, "will he bury me alive?" That, apart from what his position induced, however, the prince had also worthy dispositions, all authorities seem to agree; and without doubting that the popular regret for his death was hyperbolic, and found vent in the bewailing of expectations that would never have been realised, it

is as little possible to question that mere ordinary accomplishments, however high the rank that recommended them, could not have moved so general and so sincere a sorrow. Raleigh wept for him as his only friend; Drayton and Sylvester, whom he had pensioned, had good reason to mourn for him; Browne, Donne, and Ben Jonson made pathetic tributes to his virtues; Heywood and Webster offered earnest elegies; and old Chapman bewails in the prince his "most dear and heroical patron." The only disrespect to his memory was evinced by his father. "His majesty," says the prince's chamberlain, "being unwilling and unable to stay so near the gates of sorrow, removed to Theobalds to wait there the event." In other words, he never visited his son on his death-bed. Nor was this all: he forbade the wearing of court-mourning; and had the indecency, within three days after the death, to direct Sir Thomas Edmondes, at Paris, to continue to negotiate poor Henry's marriage-treaty, only substituting the name of Charles. It requires great charity to believe that James disapproved of the crime imputed to Somerset, even though himself no party to it.

The queen, on the other hand, is said to have shed bitter tears; but to have found relief in the preparations and masquings that soon after began, for celebrating the marriage of her daughter with the Count Palatine of Bohemia. Elizabeth and Charles were now her only children. Two daughters had been born to her since her arrival in England (on the 7th April, 1605, and the 22nd June, 1606); but both, after being christened, respectively, Mary and Sophia, had died in infancy. With this exception, and a suspected but very innocent flirtation with the young Lord Herbert of Cherbury, her life presents few things more that are noticeable. Its general tenor of business and entertainment has been very fully presented to the reader. To offer more details would be to run the same circle of court occupation, conversation, and amusement. She had an illness soon after her daughter's marriage in 1613, and went to the waters at Bath. But she is next and speedily heard of, assisting at one of Campion's masques at Caversham, the seat of Lord Knollys; "vouchsafing to make herself the head of the revels, and graciously adorning the place with her personal dancing." Perhaps the only festivity in her reign that she would not as willingly and graciously have adorned, was the septuagenarian old Howard of Effingham's marriage with his young wife of nineteen. She had a spite against the lady; and, in a letter which is no bad specimen of her liveliness, laughed at the king for his meddling to bring about such a wedding. "I humbly desire your

majesty to tell me how I should keep this secret, that have already told it, and shall tell it to as many as I speak with. If I were a poet, I would make a song of it, and sing it to the tune of *Three fools well met*."

Rarely were the latter years of her life, however, ruffled by even such differences as these with her husband. The new favourite himself she would seem to have tolerated, and lived on kindly terms with. Archbishop Abbott tells us, indeed, that it was she who had introduced Villiers to James, though reluctantly, and at the king's suggestion; obeying, in short, a new stroke of royal cunning. "He would not now," says the archbishop, "admit any to nearness about himself, but such a one as the queen should commend to him, and make some suit in that behalf; in order that, if the queen afterwards, being ill-entreated, should complain of this *dear one*, he might make his answer, 'It is come of yourself, for you were the party that commended him unto me.'" Be this as it may, no violent dissensions seem in this case to have come between man and wife and the *dear one*. They are a very happy family party, and call each other names that betoken a delightful and unmisgiving familiarity. Villiers soared far beyond Somerset in corrupt rapacity as well as in grasping ambition; but the queen esteemed him her "watchful dog," her "kind dog," her "faithful dog," who is watchful and alert to prevent the "sow" transgressing, the sow being the king; and when, in obedience to her desire, he has "pulled the king's ear till it was long as any sow's," his majesty being at the same time informed that his dog has been commanded to make his ears hang like a sow's lug, she thanks him for "lugging the sow's eare," and tells him she will "treat him better than any other dog." The king himself calls Villiers, now Marquis of Buckingham, not only his dog, but his dog Steenie; because he says his face is only to be compared to that of a saint with a glory round it, and there is exactly such a painted face of Saint Stephen at Whitehall. He wears Steenie's picture under his waistcoat, near his heart; Steenie's white teeth, he says, continually shine upon him; and to Steenie he not unusually commences his letters, "Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart's roots!"

But here the curtain falls on scenes and actors which have already perhaps detained the reader too long. The queen wrote the last letter preserved of her correspondence in October 1618. It was addressed to the Marquis of Buckingham. "My kind dog," it ran, "if I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of

it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it, so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinarily kindly at your hands." We are not sorry thus to part from Anne of Denmark, though her well-meant intercession failed, alike with Buckingham and his master. Within a month after Raleigh's death, at the close of 1618, she was struck with the illness that proved fatal to her ; and on the second of the following March, she died at Hampton Court of dropsy, in the forty-third year of her age.

Her death was lamented as premature and sudden ; but it saved her from witnessing many family sorrows, which her memory might have embittered by connecting with many family sins.



HENRIETTA MARIA OF FRANCE,

QUEEN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

THE fan and ill-fated consort of one of England's most unfortunate sovereigns is entitled, from the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed, to the utmost lenity. Not sixteen when called upon, in the onerous position of queen, to sway the agitation of parties already influenced by violent prejudice against each other, she found religion employed as a subterfuge for republicanism, and herself, from the nature of her creed, regarded, upon her arrival in England, with a suspicious dislike, which incensed the bigotry she had perhaps otherwise never evinced. Her education, also, had been calculated to pervert the accuracy of her judgment. A beautiful and spoiled child, nursed amidst court intrigue, descended from a king whose dazzling qualities threw a false lustre over his many and inexcusable faults, she was early taught to view truth through a distorted medium, so that, in the retrospect, it is conceivable that even the horror of her father's assassination, after escape from "fifty conspiracies," partook, less of tragic reality than of exciting romance. After his death, left under the influence of her haughty mother, she necessarily imbibed much of her bigotry and pride, an effect maintained for some period after her marriage by continued correspondence with the French court, and the pernicious and interested counsels of priests and dependants.

Henrietta Maria was born at the Louvre, November 25, 1609, being the youngest child of Henri the Fourth of France and Marie de Medicis, his second wife. Her birth was heralded by the king's concession to his consort's reiterated desire that her coronation should be celebrated without further delay, Henri's previous reluctance to that ceremony having been excited by the jealousy of his artful mistress, the Marchioness de Verneuil, and by her employment of fortune-tellers to prognosticate that he would not survive the coronation of the queen a single day.

At length, after every representation, though urged for "three

entire days' by Sully, in behalf of his beloved master's misgivings, had failed to induce the queen to forego her wishes, it was agreed that the enthronement should take place on the 13th of the following May.

In the dark consummation of the fatal tragedy we cannot wonder that the previous and subsequent conduct of Marie should have caused her to be regarded as implicated for beside all terms subsisting between the royal pair the queen is said to have been ' *en assez surprise en assez affligée* ' at the intelligence. The Duc d'Epemon, previously almost paralyzed by infirmity at once manifested a revival of energy which enabled him to secure the regency to the politic widow of the murdered monarch in fact it is too evident that every preparation had been made to remove those obstacles which an uncrowned queen during the lifetime of her divorced predecessor (Margaret de Valois) might otherwise have experienced.

The years of infancy even of illustrious personages, as being anterior to their future greatness present little of interest in detail. Cardinal Maffeo Barberini afterwards Pope Urban the Eighth, named the princess after both her parents and the two earliest occasions of her appearance in public were the contrasting and rapidly successive spectacles of her mother's coronation and her father's funeral. For some time the monotony of her life was unbroken, except by the festivities attendant upon the accession of her young brother, Louis the Thirteenth, the companionship of Gaston, afterwards Duke of Orleans, and the nuptials of her two sisters, Elizabeth to Philip the Fourth of Spain, and Christine to Amadeo Victorio the Tenth, Duke of Savoy. Her attachment to her mother, which was ardently returned, amounted to a species of idolatry, and she early evinced strong inclinations towards music and painting, while a religious education, enthusiastically conducted by a Carmelite religiousse, rendered her faith in the tenets of her church strict and decided. Very early also did this little princess give promising tokens of that extreme fascination of manner and sweetness of disposition which, added to rare beauty and a voice of the most thrilling melody, constantly elicited the admiration of her countrymen, before whom it was the policy of those in power to present her in order to diminish their own unpopularity. Alternate fits and civil feuds, involving much personal vicissitude—by slight and participation of the queen mother's imprisonment—formed, however, a most unfit discipline for her character. In fact, the records of the time are replete with the quarrels and reconciliations of Marie and the king her son, and the elevation and depression of the favourites of each.

The first occasion on which Prince Charles beheld his future consort was during this romantic expedition, in 1623, to Madrid to obtain the hand of the Infanta, the prince, after the example of his father and grandfather, and at the instigation of Buckingham, being desirous that an interview with his future bride should cement, by personal affection, that bond of political union which King James was eager to institute, both from the emergency of his own pecuniary distresses, and an opinion peculiar to himself, that "any alliance below that with France or Spain was unworthy a Prince of Wales." This Quixotic expedition, besides Charles and the king's "humble slave and doge, Steenie," as Buckingham was styled, consisted of Sir Francis Cottington, Sir Richard Greham, and Master Endymion Porter, and upon reaching Paris, the party, "by mere accident," as we are told by Sir Henry Wotton, obtained a first view of Henrietta, each errant knight "shadowed under a bushy peruke," and concealing his title by a plebeian name, though the two of greatest dignity amongst them attracted marked attention by their superior grace and deportment.

The Spanish match was soon broken off by the impetuous attempts of the clergy to proselytize Charles, the exasperation of Olivarez with Buckingham, and the refusal to include the restitution of the palatinate in the marriage portion of the Infanta—a circumstance which induced King James to exclaim, "that he would never marry his son with a portion of his only sister's tears," and he hastily recalled the prince from Madrid, his paternal anxiety being painfully increased by the remark of Archie, his jester, who first offered to "change caps" with James for allowing the Prince of Wales to depart, and upon the king's inquiring what he would say when he saw him come back again, replied, "Marry, I will take off the fool's cap, which I now put upon thy head for sending him thither, and put it upon the king of Spain's for letting him return." Anxious, however, for the fulfilment of his dearest wish, James, almost before the conclusion of the Spanish negotiation had been notified in England, privately despatched Lord Kensington to Paris, with offers for the hand of Henrietta, where, notwithstanding the threat of Olivarez, "that if the pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with France, the king of Spain would march to Rome with an army, and sack it," the ambassador and his message were well received by the queen. In fact, the princess herself appears to have been favourably impressed by the report of his "gallantry" during the incognito visit of the prince, since she not only intimated that "if he went to Spain for a wife, he might have

had one nearer hand, and saved himself a great part of the labour;" but we find her at the outset of the negotiation "perusing his picture a whole hour together," which she had ingeniously contrived to obtain from Lord Kensington, and testifying the greatest delight when the letter containing the proposal itself was submitted to her.

The joy of Henrietta at the prospect of becoming Queen of England, might, however, have been damped, had she looked back to the last alliance of the kind. This was no other than that of Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry the Sixth, whose misfortunes had so operated on the minds of French princesses, that though the English princes had made various offers, no marriage for two centuries had been ventured upon. Henrietta's was doomed to be still more disastrous.

After much delay, caused by the reluctance of the pope to grant a dispensation for a union which he foresaw would be infelicitous, and by the death of James the First, thirty public and three private marriage articles were agreed upon, after the model of the Spanish contract. By the nineteenth of these articles, the education of the royal offspring, until their thirteenth year, was strictly reserved to the queen. The ceremony took place "on a theatre erected in front of Notre Dame," May 21, 1625, the Duc de Chevreuse acting as the representative of Charles, who had already despatched Buckingham to conduct his bride to England. Her arrival there was, however, delayed some little time, ostensibly by a sudden and severe indisposition of the queen-mother at Amiens—a procrastination which gave rise to various surmises. The pope, on the one hand, is represented to have enjoined a penance; Buckingham, on the other, to have arranged an opportunity, of which it is certain he availed himself, for a farewell interview with Anne of Austria, the idol of his insane devotion at Paris. Charles, who had meanwhile waited at Dover, removed to Canterbury, whence, on Monday, June 24, he was hastily summoned to receive the queen, who had arrived late the evening before. "The king rode from Canterbury, and came to Dover after ten of the clock, and she then being at meat, he stayed in the presence till she had done, which she advertised of, made short work, rose, went unto him, kneeled down at his feet, took and kissed his hand. The king took her up in his arms, kissed her, and talking with her, cast down his eyes toward her feet (she seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulders), which she soon perceiving, discovered and showed him her shoes, saying to this effect, 'Sir, I stand upon mine own feet—I have no helps by

art ; thus high I am, and am neither higher nor lower ' " Again, we read from another letter of the same date, and from the same writer, " So soon as she heard he was come, she hasted down a pair of stairs to meet him, and, offering to kneel down and to kiss his hand, he wrapped her up in his arms, and kissed her with many kisses "

The first words addressed to Charles by his young bride expressed a similar sentiment to that of her mother when introduced to Henry the Fourth, "*Sire, je suis venue en ce pays de vostre majesté pour estre commandée de vous*" She requested that "he would inform her of her faults of ignorance" The king replied, tenderly kissing away her tears, "that he would be no longer master of himself than while he was servant to her" There was much in the personal demeanour and character of Charles, as developed at this period, which was calculated not merely to reassure a timid girl, but to attract the lasting regards of an affectionate woman He is said to have been "a prince of comely presence, of a sweet, grave, but melancholy aspect, his face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned, his body strong, healthy, and well-made, and though of a low stature, was capable to endure the greatest fatigue He had a good taste of learning, and more than an ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals He acquired the noblest collections of any prince in his time, and more than all the kings of England before him He spoke several languages very well, and with a singular good grace, though now and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was inclinable to stammer He writ a tolerable hand for a king, but his sense was strong, and his style laconic" From Canterbury, where the marriage ceremony was repeated, they proceeded to Gravesend, and thence to London, and here, notwithstanding the ravages of the plague, "*whereof, in this year, not less than thirty five thousand four hundred and seventeen persons died,*" and the revival of the stringent proclamation against building, of Queen Elizabeth, every endeavour was made to grace her arrival The vessels in the river gave her a volley of fifteen hundred shot, and as she approached Whitehall, the fascination of her appearance and manners, added to fresh rumours of her kindly sentiments towards Protestantism, every moment increased the popular enthusiasm

Yet notwithstanding this auspicious commencement, causes were soon originated of public dissatisfaction and conjugal disquiet The first arose from the queen's absolute refusal to be *even present* at the coronation, which, from some forgetfulness or want of judgment upon

the part of those in power, had been fixed for Candlemas Day, a season of high festival in the Romish calendar, sufficient to preclude a votary of that faith from attendance at a ceremonial of the reformed church, even had she been willing to receive the crown at the ministration of priests whose authority she repudiated. This gave the death-blow to her popularity with the nation, which was aggravated by her subsequent refusal to join in the coronation of the king in Scotland. The queen's example encouraged her suite to give further umbrage to the English people, by "dancing," and appearing to mock the august procession, "as they viewed its progress from a window." Nor was the horizon of domestic life long unclouded. From the first period of her marriage, Henrietta had discovered that Buckingham, the intimate associate of the king, was a true friend to neither his sovereign nor herself; and while he used her influence to forward his professions to her sister-in-law, his manner evinced so little of either courtesy or prudence, that, as she afterwards confessed, "she began to be out of conceit with the king her husband; and Buckingham heightened her disgust into aversion, by telling her frankly that, if he pleased, he could set them together by the ears. And, indeed, so he did to such a degree, that she grew melancholy, and longed to return to France." So completely, however, did the duke's influence with her husband prevail, that it was only through his interference, and with a promise that he should accompany her, that she obtained permission to depart, though she was ultimately obliged to forego the voyage, in consequence of the queen-mother's refusal to admit the duke at the French court. To Charles himself his favourite adopted a behaviour the freedom of which could not be excused even by intimacy. "I witnessed," writes Bassompierre himself, "an instance of great boldness, not to say impertinence, of the Duke of Buckingham, which was, when he saw us the most heated" (the marshal's mission being to demand explanations) "he ran up suddenly, and threw himself between the king and me, saying, 'I am come to keep the peace between you two!'" But the shrewd ambassador at once took off his hat, and thereby thwarted Buckingham's curiosity, thus changing an audience into a private conversation, and reminding the duke of his want of respect in remaining covered before his sovereign. A disparity, also, in tastes, or rather dispositions, between the newly-married pair, became the fertile source of frequent dissension; for while Henrietta's liveliness of temper rendered her the ready patroness of "plays and pastorals," in which she herself, and her maids of honour, acted the several parts, a pro-

ceeding which Prynne severely censured in his *Histrio Mastix*, on the other hand, Charles, immediately upon his accession, had reformed the court, and expelled "the fools, buffoons, and other familiars of James" These minor troubles, however, soon happily terminated in the removal of the queen's attendants, who, by artful intrigue, had so fomented connubial strife, as to cause Charles deeply to regret those conditions, which, once weakly conceded, he could not subsequently decline without compunction For as then own behaviour compelled the king to vitiate the contract in assuming a determined attitude of resistance towards his queen's domestics, the fatal result of the crooked policy which allowed such marriage articles exhibited itself in after-years, on the accession to the throne of a progeny whose expulsion was wrought out by the influence of the same tenets The restoration of the mass at Whitehall roused all the religious opposition of the people Charles's authority in his own palace was repudiated by the queen's suite, on the ground that he "had nothing to do with them being a heretic," until after resisting several direct indications of the king's desire for their departure, they were at length forcibly removed from the queen's lodgings in a manner most undignified, for "while the women howled and lamented, as if they had been going to execution, the yeomen of the guard thrust them and all their countryfolkes out of the queen's lodgings, and locked the doors after them, the queen, meantime, grew very impatient, and brake the glass windows with her fiste" The king appears to have compounded for discourtesy by munificence, for, notwithstanding their short residence, and his disgust at their conduct, he liberally presented them "with eleven thousand pounds in money, and about twenty thousand pounds worth of jewels" The immediate effects of this expulsion were temporary a deep despondency on the queen's part, notwithstanding the politic advice of her mother, "to accede in all things to her husband, except in religious points," and a declaration of war by France, Buckingham, who was its chief instigator, being commissioned to conduct the latter, and the former evil alleviated in a measure by the embassy of Bassompierre The official duties, and then issues, of these two noblemen, were as opposite as their conduct of them The duke managed the war "more with the gueties of a courtier than the arts of a soldier," which accounts for its ill success, but the marshal evinced no less integrity than perception in availing himself of the absence of Buckingham to bring the royal couple to a better understanding of each other's mutual disposition, so as to deduce from the king himself a confession as to

the arch plotter of domestic strife—"My wife and I were never upon better terms, she showing herself so loving to me by her discretion on all occasions, that it makes us all wonder at and esteem her" Her experience of the malignant influence almost precluded the possibility of Henrietta's sympathising with the king in his regret at the duke's assassination, which he bitterly lamented, notwithstanding that by this event the greatest barrier to his married happiness was removed, and, from 'that nobleman being the object of the popular hate, it withdrew the chief obstruction of the subjects' love to their king"

The advent of the future hope of England, in the birth of a Prince of Wales (the first child, Charles James, having scarcely survived a day) inspired but little popular joy, and as the nativity of the young prince was in the few next years, followed by that of the Princess Mary, the Duke of York afterwards James the Second, and the Princess Elizabeth, each addition to the royal family was distrustfully regarded as of a less fitting because less decidedly Protestant, claimant to the crown than the offspring of the Queen of Bohemia. The birth of the Prince of Wales was however, haubingered by a supernatural presage of no common glory, in the 'appearance of a star at noon day, which elicited numerous poetical rhapsodies of wonder and admiration, equally sincere, though less precious, proofs of loyalty than the present of 'ambergris, china basons, a clock, and four pictures by Tintoret and Titian,' proffered to the queen on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth

Perhaps the period of the greatest happiness and splendour of Charles the First and Henrietta was about 1633. Their second son, James, was then born, and his birth was celebrated by a masque given by the gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn and the Temple to the king and queen. At this period the court was adorned by the presence of many celebrated men. Waller was producing his lyrics in its honour, Vandyke was immortalising not only the beauty of the queen, but the person of her husband, as well as of all the most distinguished of his courtiers. Inigo Jones was not only rearing public buildings, but devising masques and ballets for the royal pleasure, and Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher were writing their great dramas. Yet thickly dark clouds lowered. The popular dislike to Henrietta's religion soon associated itself with every act and feeling of herself. Her mother, being driven from the friendly asylum of the French court by her son's unnatural malignity, 'insomuch that Louis even plotted her destruction, the final solicitude of Henrietta, who, in the

extremity of the queen-mother's affliction, affectionately invited her to England, and for two years entertained her with the distinction becoming her station even in the plenitude of power, though equally natural as praiseworthy, was vituperated and misrepresented by fanatical malice. But the daughter's early acquaintance with persecution heralded the dawning greatness of the heroic wife ; and as her husband's perils grew more imminent in the threatening storm of political anarchy, her promptitude and talent, stimulated to keenest exercise by conjugal affection, proved her no degenerate descendant of the favourite monarch of France. Burnet, indeed, whose dislike is manifest, accuses her of "fondness for intrigues, and want of judgment," and affirms that "to her little practices, as well as to the king's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing ;" but this is rebutted in part by the testimony of a political opponent, who speaks of her abhorrence of mischief as well known, and also by the impression her sagacity invariably produced to the encouragement of her partisans, and to the fear of the parliamentary council. It is indeed to be lamented that Henrietta's feelings, by a too common error of her sex, somewhat impaired her judgment, and at times frustrated the success of those plans so felicitously propounded, under adverse circumstances, by her zeal and energy. Accordingly, we find her, in the year 1639, the memorable epoch of the king's inauspicious expedition to Scotland, raising no less than forty thousand pounds from the Roman Catholics of England in his behalf ; yet, shortly after the pacification, with singular imprudence, encouraging him in a measure destructive of the whole previous benefit, which, if consummated, would for ever have alienated that country from the royal interests, viz., the execution of the Earl of Loudon. So obstinate is she represented to have been upon this occasion, that it was not until the Marquis of Hamilton "took her up short," and "let her know she was a subject as well as himself," that she relaxed her pertinacious severity. Such instances, however, of violation, not more of the general sentiments of feminine sensibility than of her own natural characteristic, only appear when her pride was injured by a want of respect to herself, or by some perilous sacrifice of safety or dignity involved on the part of her now fondly-cherished consort. Her sorrow at the fate of the high-minded Strafford, amply retrieved her character for humanity. She herself declared to Madame de Motteville, that "she did all she could to save him ; not a day passed over her head but she closetted the most violent of the faction, induced Lord Danby, one of his greatest enemies, to defend

him, and shed abundance of tears when the intelligence of his execution reached her;" the king and herself, as she expressed it, being both sensible that his death would some day or other rob the one of life and the other of rest.

During the king's absence in Scotland, Henrietta took up her residence at Oatlands, whence, through the instrumentality of an officer on duty, the parliament endeavoured to decoy the royal children into their own grasp, and had planned a nocturnal attack upon the house, the better to effect their design. The queen, however, was speedily informed by a loyal soldier of the plot, and arming her servants, she "herself went to take the air in the park" during the anxious interval, which elapsing without any hostile demonstration, she prevented their recurrence by removing to Hampton Court, with her own guards; and while the parliament, ashamed of detection, overwhelmed her with apologies, she employed the remainder of the king's absence in winning friends to his cause; amongst others, inducing "the Lord Mayor of London to renew his allegiance." Yet, with a strange contradiction of behaviour, no sooner was Charles returned, than she frustrated, by her hasty imprudence, a politic stratagem for his protection. The king, who had resolved on a bold attempt in the House of Commons to seize the five members who the day before had been impeached of high treason, confided his design to his queen, who, unable to restrain her exultation till the whole was accomplished, revealed the plot to that "busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle," as Sir Philip Warwick calls her, "who had changed her gallant from Strafford to Mr. Pym, to whom it was discovered in time for him to effect his escape. Upon the failure of this attempt, although ruined by herself, the queen fell into a rage, and called Charles 'poltroon,' yet he expressed no reproach; but, as she feelingly allowed, made her do penance for her oversight by her own repentance." As popular fury grew more exasperated, it was resolved that the queen should quit Hampton for Dover, whither the king was to accompany her, in order to secure her safe and speedy transit to the States of Holland—her ostensible mission being to convey thither the princess royal, who had some time previously been betrothed to the Prince of Orange. With mournful tenderness, at this the first painful season of lengthened separation, Charles watched along the shore "for four leagues" the receding vessel, feeling that he now stood alone in a realm over which his authority, though nominally acknowledged, had no real and substantial sway from the loyalty of attachment.

With her usual self-command, however, the queen, notwithstanding the pressure of domestic grief, immediately upon her arrival in Holland, where her reception was most cordial, exhibited all those powers of diplomacy which her extraordinary fascinations so strongly seconded. Her chief object was to effect a loan upon the crown jewels, which she carried with her, and upon those belonging to herself; but the tact with which she won over to her cause the burgo-masters, who, inexperienced in the rules of common courtesy, received her without any external mark of respect, appears little short of the marvellous. So efficiently did they co-operate with her, that in little more than a year she raised two millions of pounds, and sailed from Scheveling for England with eleven transports, her fleet being convoyed by the famous Dutch admiral, Van Tromp. Upon this voyage she experienced all the horrors of death, and was obliged to put back, in the strangest condition of personal discomfort, to a little port near the Hague, whence, a fortnight after, she reached England, under so close a pursuit by the parliamentary vessels, that their shot awoke her as she lay asleep in her bed the next morning. A remarkable anecdote is here told of her heroism: she had an ugly but favourite lap-dog, and upon her quitting the cottage during the hottest of the enemy's fire, she suddenly remembered that her pet had been deserted; without a moment's hesitation she returned, brought it away from within reach of the cannon, and then went to conceal herself in the caves near the village. The whole country was "now filled with gossip" respecting her courage and perils. Lord Newcastle, with a body of troops, conducted her to York—the Roman Catholics came from all quarters to enlist in her ranks—Batten's disloyalty was loudly censured, as having designedly pointed his cannon at Burlington at the very house in which she lodged,—and the romantic enthusiasm which hailed her escape, caused her escort soon to find himself at the head of a considerable force. The queen, eagerly taking advantage of their zeal, drew partisans over to the royal cause so universally, that even Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, the governor of Scarborough, who had already defeated the royalists, promised to deliver up the town, and Sir John Hotham was ready to open the gates of Hull, which he had rudely shut against the king. It must not be forgotten, too, that this display of mental energy followed closely upon a period of deep personal affliction. When in Holland, Henrietta had learned the death of her mother, in the midst of hardships, and alone; the sorrowing daughter not having been permitted to console the last

hours of her persecuted parent. It has been pathetically remarked that this princess, who had "brought a marriage portion of six hundred thousand crowns, and diamonds and jewels worth three millions more, who had founded two hospitals and several charitable institutions, was dying in a foreign land in a state of indigence, though mother of the king of France, and though three of her daughters had married kings." Charles had dreaded that her expulsion from the kingdom by his own subjects "would occasion a further alienation of the mind of his wife" from that religion "which," he writes, "is the only thing wherein we differ;" yet again, upon her return, his enemies evinced but slight sincerity in the promise which they had given, "that they would do all in their power to make her happy, if she would continue in England;" nor was it until when, upon her march to Oxford, the king met her at Edge Hill, that a gleam of transitory sunshine irradiated her path amidst the revelry of the then triumphant court, and that hope—fallacious!—whispered a renewal of the happier years of her life. Short respite was allowed from care and peril: upon the eve of the battle of Newbury it was clear that Oxford was no safe asylum, and Charles, anxious for the queen, whose health, impaired by vicissitude, excited his tenderest precaution, insomuch as to elicit the taunt of Sir Philip Warwick, that "he was always more chary of her person than of his business," escorted his reluctant wife to Abingdon. The bitterness of their parting, though deprived of its full intensity from the ignorance of either that it was to be, as it afterwards proved, *for ever*, yet was at the time augmented by the frail condition of her health, which appealed to every impulse of conjugal affection for support, and by the contrast between the glory of her entrance into Oxford and the disheartening circumstances under which she now quitted those walls, which were amongst the very last to maintain the standard of loyalty against rebellion.

The king's distress at her hapless condition is forcibly expressed in his brief note written in French to her physician—"Mayerne! for the love of *me*, go to my wife! C. R."—Arrived at Exeter, she found the citizens already preparing for a siege, and remitted a sum of money to the king, which she had received from Anne of Austria; with characteristic self-denial, scarcely retaining sufficient to supply her own wants; and, at the advance of Lord Essex at the head of the rebels, only a fortnight after the birth of the Princess Henrietta (June 16, 1644), she applied to him for safe conduct to Bath, where she hoped to recruit her strength, and obtain some repose for her shattered spirits.

To her application, the brutal answer was returned, that "the earl intended to escort her to London, where the Parliament were resolved to impeach her;" a reply which elicited from the queen the touching sentiment expressed to the Duke of Hamilton, "God forgive them for their rebellion, as I assure you I forgive them from my heart what they do against me." Her reputation for courage was also enhanced by a display of fortitude upon this fearful occasion, which amazed her attendants. Rallying by one strong effort of the will her enervated powers, Henrietta rose to meet the emergency with all the undaunted resolution of that sire who had been indeed the first warrior of his age. In disguise, and almost fainting with pain and weakness, she escaped, with her confessor and two faithful adherents, to a hut on the road to Plymouth, leaving her infant behind to the protection of a few loyal followers, upon whose fidelity she could rely, and set sail from Pendennis only ten days before Charles arrived to raise the siege of Exeter. So closely was she pursued by the parliamentary cruisers, that her captain set every sail, and being impeded by a shot from the enemy, was about, at the queen's command, to set fire to the magazine rather than allow his vessel to be taken, when he was rescued by a French fleet from Dieppe, under whose escort she reached Chastel; whence, on foot, ill, destitute, and exhausted, the unhappy queen made her way "over the rocks" to the abode of some peasants; "all the strokes of fortune upon her magnanimous soul, like the breaking of the waves upon a rock of diamonds, unable to shake, but only washing it to a greater brightness."

After remaining four months at the baths of Bourbon, she came to Paris, where "the king and queen, with the Duke of Anjou, went out to receive her, with every testimony of tender friendship;" and the Louvre, the place of her birth, with St. Germain for a country seat, was assigned to her as a residence, with a pension of twelve thousand crowns a month; the last, according to more than one authority, being contributed by the French clergy. But affection could not obliterate the blight of care; "at this time she was so much disfigured by illness and misfortune, that she had scarce any marks of her beauty left, though the expression of her face had something in it still so agreeable as charmed everybody that saw her." Her temper, naturally so gay, was now saddened by grief; yet, "even when the tears tickled down her cheeks, if any one happened to pass a jest, she suppressed them as well as she was able, to please the company; while the gravity of woo rendered her

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more considerable than she would have been, perhaps, if she had never known sorrow."

Devoted as ever to her husband's interests, her advice, if promptly followed after his successes in the west, by a march upon London, would doubtless have changed the final aspect of the war, although his resistance to her injunction by Sir William Davenant, that "he should part with the church for his peace and security," proved not only her want of unity with him in matters of faith, but her ignorance of that high tone of principle which induced the king's resolution to maintain his oath inviolate, even at the hazard of his life. His precept to his son, upon his blessing, "never to yield to any conditions that were dishonourable, or derogatory to legal authority, though it were for the saving of his (the king's) life," he illustrated by example, and was thus spared that "disquiet of mind" which is sharper than the axe of the executioner. Charles's idea of a persecuted church was, that it did not thereby become less pure, though less fortunate; but having no dependence upon Henrietta's counsels in these respects, we find him making an exception to his son in that total direction by the queen, which he recommended to his observance "in all other things."

During her residence in Paris, besides effecting a treaty with Holland and France, she set on foot a negociation of marriage between her son and the Princess of Orange, and attached several malcontents to the king's party by receiving them at her court; but so straitened were her resources by the king's demands, that upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales, followed by that of his infant sister Henrietta (who had been restored to her mother by the courage of Lady Morton), the queen's condition was truly deplorable. Both the royal children had escaped with imminent peril—the princess, disguised as a boy, was carried by the countess to Dover, and increased the hazard of detection by endeavouring, with child-like simplicity, to inform every one that "she was not a beggar-boy, but the princess." Notwithstanding that the queen herself, with all the endurance of woman's fond idolatry, had been, to use her own words, "ready to die with famine, rather than not send her husband the means of maintaining his rights, though she had already affliction enough to bear, which without his love she could not do, but his service surmounted all,"—the last drop of anguish was even then distilling, and the horrid tragedy rapidly drew to a close. For some time no tidings had reached her from England, and when at length the ill-fated messenger arrived, he bore the intel-

ligence that the faction of Scottish covenanters, in whom she had admonished the king never to confide, had basely sold their sovereign to the English parliament, which had resolved to bring him to a mock trial. Struck to the heart with amazement and confusion, she sent a paper to the parliament, containing a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the king her husband was in, desiring that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all her credit with him to give them satisfaction; and if this were denied, she implored only permission to perform the duties she owed him, to be near him in the uttermost extremity. It will scarcely be believed that the ambassador Paw could not get leave to see the king; and though the queen's paper was delivered to the parliament, it was flung aside, with the observation that the house had, in 1643, voted his majesty guilty of high treason."

Nothing can exceed the misery to which Henrietta was at this moment reduced. Not only was she torn with the most terrible anxieties regarding the safety of her husband, but she was herself in the midst of the terrors of civil war, and reduced to the most complete destitution. The war of the Fronde was raging in and around Paris, and on the eventful 6th of January, when the count escaped to St. Germain-en-Laye, and her sister-in-law, the queen-regent, was thence attacking the city, Henrietta was also beleaguered in the Louvre by the Fronde faction, and reduced to absolute famine. There Cardinal Retz, the head of that faction, found her,—her last loaf eaten, her last fagot consumed, and without money to purchase further fire or food. The snow was falling fast, and her youngest child, four years old, was lying in bed as the only means of warmth. At that moment she was writing an agonised letter to the French ambassador in London, imploring him to obtain leave for her to join her husband, as she had received the news that he was about to be brought to trial for his life. A more absolute picture of human misery is not to be conceived. It was pecuniarily relieved by a grant from the parliament of Paris of 20,000 livres.

Not many days after Charles's murder, the unfortunate Henrietta was told a sham story, that the king had been carried from his prison to the scaffold, with a design to cut off his head, but that the populace opposed it; yet notwithstanding this compassionate ruse, devised by Lord Jermyn, the shock was so great as to cause her to confess, afterwards, her astonishment that she ever survived such a misfortune. Personal calamity she had endured even in the extreme of corporeal

weakness; she had been indeed steeped in poverty to the very lips, and,

Like the Pontic monarch of old days,
She fed on poisons,

but now her heart had lost its source of earthly happiness. and the external mourning which she wore ever afterwards, sufficient proof of the absurdity of the popular report of her subsequent marriage with Lord Jermyn, was a sincere type of that fixed sadness of thought which time could not remove, if it enabled her to dissemble. She survived, the relict of him with whom in life she had mingled each aspiration of hope—each desponding gloom of care; and now the unseen image of “her king, her husband, and her friend,” was to fill the void within her breast, even as in his last hour the significant word Remember! uttered to Juxon as the monarch delivered to him the jewel of the George, which contained her portrait “under the upper side,” expressed with striking pathos the fond tenacity with which Charles, despising life for its own sake, clung to that last ray which shone upon him from her.

Anxious to escape the popular tumults in Paris, which aggravated her distress, the widowed queen retired to St. Germain, whence, notwithstanding the great agony she was in, she wrote to Charles the Second, desiring him to repair into France as soon as possible, and not to swear any persons of his council till she could speak with him. The first two or three days after their meeting were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, but the queen's grief was soon augmented by the reluctance of the king to follow any advice, and by the distance which he observed in his deportment.” It was resolved that Charles should pass over into Scotland, which latter country, disgusted at Cromwell's usurpation, had made offers to the prince, and upon his arrival at Jersey he was immediately proclaimed king. Previous to this event, however, the escape from St. James's of the Duke of York, who had been taken prisoner in his fifteenth year, had been effected under very singular circumstances. We abbreviate the account from the Stuart papers:—All things being in readiness, the duke, after supper, with his brother and sister, went to play at hide and seek with the rest of the young people in the house. At this childish sport the duke had accustomed himself to play for a fortnight together every night, hiding in places so difficult to find that they were half an hour in searching for him; at the end of which time he came out of his own

accord. This was a blind for his design, by which, when in earnest, he secured half an hour before suspicion could arise. Upon this occasion he locked up a little dog which used to follow him, and passed by a back door of which he had obtained the key into the park, where he found Bamfield and a footman ready to receive him, who put on him a cloak and a perwig; after which, in female attire, he reached a Dutch vessel, which waited below Gravesend. Meanwhile, orders were issued, upon the detection of his flight, to watch the northern roads, and those towards Wales; nor was the pursuit relinquished till news arrived of his landing in Holland. The two other children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, were committed to the Countess of Leicester, to be treated without any addition of titles, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes of people towards them; they were afterwards removed to Carisbrook Castle, where the princess died. The duke, from Cromwell's suspicion of his becoming a favourite with the disaffected, was allowed to embark for Holland, soon after the end of the year 1652. To obtain some addition to her straitened resources, Henrietta applied, through Cardinal Mazarine, to Cromwell for her dowry, which was refused upon a plea which, as the queen remarked, reflected less upon herself than upon the realm and monarch of France; namely, that she had never been owned for queen of England. In spite, however, of this national insult, Mazarine, of whom it was commonly remarked in Paris, that he had less fear of the devil than of Oliver Cromwell, concluded a treaty with England, by which it was stipulated that Henrietta should leave Paris, the French queen, when appealed to, consoling her with the trite sentiment, we must comply with the times! As the connexion became closer, Charles was banished from France, and immediately entertained by the King of Spain, who agreed to furnish him with men and money, for the invasion of England, from Flanders. Before King Charles left Paris he changed his religion, by whose persuasion is not known, only Cardinal de Retz was in the secret; it was reported, however, that the queen gave notice to the King of France that her eldest son was turned Catholic; and it is certain that she showed her anxiety to advance her own religion, both by advising the king to agree with the Scottish demands, and by every effort, through the Abbé Montague, during her residence in the convent of Chaillot, which she had founded, to bring over the Duke of Gloucester to her faith. With the Princess Henrietta she had no difficulty; but the duke, who was encouraged, with strange inconsistency, by his

brother, the king, to remember the last words of his dead father, and be constant to his religion, resisted every attempt to force him to continue in the Jesuits' College, though the bishopric of Metz and other ecclesiastical dignities were guaranteed to him. So violent was the domestic persecution of the duke by his mother, that the Marquis of Ormond was despatched to demand, on the part of the king, that his brother should repair to his presence ; and, indeed, conducted his mission with the greatest delicacy ; yet the queen, in her exasperation at his withdrawal, refused to see her son when he offered to take leave of her, and throw his letter into the fire in the messenger's sight. For nearly two years a coolness was thus occasioned between herself and her children, until these minor evils were forgotten in the auspicious restoration of their former greatness, after the death of Cromwell.

Still, the queen, so long the victim of misfortune, was not permitted personally to enjoy this season of reviving glory, in consequence of a nuptial contract between her daughter Henrietta and the Duke of Orleans. And even her subsequent visit to England was clouded by the intelligence of the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the scarcely less affecting tidings of the Duke of York's intended marriage with the daughter of Lord Clarendon, who had been represented to her and the Princess of Orange as totally unworthy of James's affection. The wily chancellor, however, ultimately overcame the queen's dislike ; for, while he professed himself so shocked, "if the union had taken place, as to desire *the woman* to be sent to the Tower," he practised on the queen-mother by engaging, that if she would relax her opposition, to get parliament to pay her debts. Henrietta's return to Whitehall, whither she was conducted by the former route, with even more magnificence than upon her bridal entry, caused a paroxysm of long-silenced grief. The spectacle of her emotion at the revival of scenes associated with all the agonies of her life was, indeed, great and terrible. And, after the death of the widowed Princess of Orange, in London, anxious to secure her surviving daughter from the virulence of the small-pox, which had proved so fatal to her family, she left this country, the scene of early tribulation and the anxieties of age, and only once in her subsequent life revisited it for a brief interval. The château of Colombe, about four leagues from Paris, afforded a refuge for the few remaining years of existence to this tried vessel, broken by the storms of state ; and the year 1669 witnessed the same inflexible courage and patience, under long indisposition, which had supported her amidst such frequent and appalling trials.

At the first increase of alarming symptoms, the repeated solicitation of those around alone induced her to allow a consultation of physicians, who pronounced her case not dangerous, though painful ; but when M. Valot recommended the use of opium, the queen expressed a violent antipathy to the remedy which in previous years she had learned from Dr. Mayerne was inimical to her constitution. Her objection was fatally overruled, and in other respects some ignorance and want of skill appear to have been exhibited in the treatment of the supposed disorder, which evinced features nearly allied to those of decline. A continued stupor beyond the expected interval of repose alarmed her attendant, who summoned the physicians, but even then it was some time before the fatal truth could be perceived in the reluctance of affection to acknowledge it. Henrietta expired August 31, 1669, at the age of sixty years ; her remains being removed to Chaillot, were, after lying in state, conducted at night, with all the sepulchral magnificence of departed majesty, to the Abbey of St. Denis, and her heart enclosed in a vessel of silver, with the following inscription in Latin, was deposited in the chapel of the convent :—

HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND ;

DAUGHTER OF HENRY IV., THE CONQUEROR OF FRANCE,

• WIFE OF CHARLES I., THE MARTYR ; MOTHER OF CHARLES II., THE RESTORER.

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA.

VERY few of our English queens have equal claims on the sympathy of posterity with Catherine of Braganza, consort of Charles the Second, who, from the gloomy walls of a monastery in which her youth had been passed, was suddenly called forth to become the ruling star of the licentious court of her husband, one of the most dissolute princes in Europe. Wholly ignorant of society, and of the customs of the country to which she was transplanted, Catherine, who at the time of her marriage was in her twenty-fifth year, was, although adorned with most of the virtues and amiable traits of character which become a woman and a queen, through an unfortunate combination of circumstances, reduced to the humiliating situation of a cypher in her own court. Amid all the revelry and pageantry that surrounded the Merry Monarch, Catherine passed a joyless existence, blessed neither with the honours of the wife, the mother, nor the queen. Yet in reality she was far more to be envied for her simplicity and goodness of heart, which seemed to bid defiance to the frowns of fortune, than were many of those haughty and worthless dames, by whose presence she was destined to be insulted, and by whom she was deprived of the affections of her sickle consort. Charles, however, to Catherine's praise be it said, seems from first to last to have entertained some appreciation of the excellence of his neglected and ill-used wife. The circumstances which led to their union are not devoid of interest, although they exhibit the selfish views of the king in a manner little creditable to his character either as a gentleman or a royal lover.

and who, by her beauty, talents, and prudence preserved the kingdom from Spain.

Catherine was their third child and only daughter. She was born Nov. 25th, 1638, two years before her father mounted the throne of Portugal, and proceeded to achieve its independence. When Catherine had just completed her seventh year, her father proposed an alliance between her and the young Prince of Wales; but Charles the First did not respond to the proposition. Seventeen years afterwards, when Catherine was two-and-twenty, and Charles the Second had regained the throne of England, the same proposal was renewed. By her mother's instructions, Don Francisco de Melo, the ambassador to the English court, was ordered to propose the hand of the princess to Charles, who was informed, through the medium of the Earl of Manchester, his Lord Chamberlain, that 500,000*l.* sterling would be given as her dowry, together with the fortress of Tangiers in Africa, the Island of Bombay, and free trade for the English to the Brazils. The faith of Catherine, who had been brought up a Catholic, presented indeed an obstacle to the alliance; but it was suggested that, as she was ignorant alike of business and politics, she would be content with enjoying her own views, without interfering with those of others, her temper being naturally gentle and submissive. The marriage, which was discussed in Council, was warmly seconded by Lord Clarendon;¹ and meeting no opposition, Charles, tempted by the golden bribe of the dowry, deputed the Portuguese ambassador to return with an account of his favourable reception to his own country, and to obtain a ratification of the treaty; that treaty which has ever since bound the two crowns of England and Portugal in a strict alliance.

Don Francisco de Melo had been also the bearer of a letter in Charles's own hand, in which he addressed the Infanta as his wife. Notwithstanding, the match was nearly broken off by the interest of the Earl of Bristol, then high in Charles's favour, and who was supported by Don Louis de Haro, then ambassador from Spain in the English court, whose influence was exerted in behalf of Spain, then opposed to Portugal. This nobleman presented to the mind of the fickle monarch such a contrast between the plainness of the Infanta and the beauty of some of the Italian princesses, that Charles began to grow indifferent on the subject of the proposed alliance; and when the ambassador returned from Lisbon he was so coolly received, that

¹ Some indeed think this statesman first suggested the match, and it is certain that the Queen-Mother, Henrietta Maria, desired it might take place because the Princess was a catholic.

and their crew. James, perceiving at subsequent interviews that Catherine still wore the English costume which she had adopted in compliment to her new country, requested permission to behold her in her national costume, which Catherine having complied with, received a compliment on her appearance. It was, perhaps, this circumstance that led to her afterwards adopting the Portuguese attire, to which she was strongly advised to adhere by her own attendants, who wished her neither to learn English nor to adopt the fashion of this country, but to adhere to her own. Catherine's Portuguese dress was a great novelty to the English, consisting of a full-bottomed wig, with a high boddice, ruff, and farthingale; notwithstanding which, Pepys, who joined in the general amusement at her expense, in ridiculing so odious a fashion, describes the queen as having a good, modest, and innocent look, though not as being "very charming;" and Clarendon thought she had quite enough wit and beauty even to please Charles, had not her bigotry, the result of her ill-education, spoiled her.

Catherine, who had arrived on the 14th, and had been conducted, on her landing at Portsmouth, to the king's house, there to await her affianced husband, who had been detained in London, maintained a strict seclusion for some days, according to etiquette, during which period she was attacked with a sore throat and fever, which not only confined her to her bed, but even placed her life in danger. Of this Charles was not apprised, as her recovery was speedy; but the first interview with Catherine, on the 21st of May, took place in her apartment, she being still unable to leave her bed from the effects of suffering. A letter from Charles himself describes the impression made on him even at a moment so unfavourable: it is addressed to Lord Clarendon:

first introduction of Charles to Catherine, by Lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner, according to the Roman ritual, with which she would not dispense, the Portuguese Ambassador, and two or three of her attendants, being the only persons present. Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, afterwards married them publicly after the form of the Protestant church, on which occasion Catherine is said to have turned her head away poutingly, neither repeating the words of the ritual nor looking the Bishop in the face, though she required him to pronounce her the wife of Charles before he quitted her chamber. This, however, has more charitably been attributed to her not venturing publicly to pronounce so much English, the rest of her behaviour on her arrival in this country being marked by the greatest prudence and good humour. This hasty and imperfect marriage afterwards was made a pretext for agitating a divorce, it being pretended by some to be a mere contract, and not binding on the king. On her wedding day Catherine was robed in a rose-coloured dress, according to the English fashion, trimmed with knots of blue ribbon, which the Countess of Suffolk, first lady of the bed-chamber, when the ceremony was ended, cut off and distributed to the company, beginning with the Duke of York, the officers of state, ladies, and every guest having the honour in turn, till the queen had not one remaining. On the 27th the royal couple proceeded to Windsor, and having passed one night there, arrived on the 29th, the anniversary of the king's birth and coronation, at Hampton Court, where they were received with much festivity.

The general opinion of Catherine at this time was that she was a very fine and handsome lady, and that the king was well enough pleased with her. Catherine's troubles were, however, not far distant. It must have been a great grief to her affectionate heart to part with the attendants selected to accompany her to England, and who were speedily dismissed by Charles, with the exception of the Countess of Penalva, who perceived the confusion their presence created, and a list of new ones was submitted to the queen for her approval. How deeply her heart, which had early been given to Charles, must have been pained to behold on that list the name of Lady Castlemaine, her husband's acknowledged mistress. It appears that Catherine had been informed of the king's infatuated attachment to this woman before she quitted Lisbon, and had been charged by her mother never to permit her name to be mentioned in her hearing, so that Catherine never having made the slightest allusion to the subject Charles imagined her

wholly ignorant of it, up to the time when she perceived the name of Lady Castlemaine at the head of the list. The queen instantly drew her pen across it, and when Charles presumed to insist on her being nominated to the office, she replied haughtily she would return to her own country sooner than submit to such an indignity, nor could Charles pacify her till he had promised to have nothing more to do with Lady Castlemaine :—a vain concession, and a pledge too speedily broken !

At a drawing-room held at Hampton Court within two months after her marriage, Charles insulted Catherine so far as to introduce Lady Castlemaine to her. The queen not hearing the name distinctly, received her with her usually graceful and benign manner, but a whisper from behind advertising her of the disgraceful fact, she started from her seat, changed colour, from red to pale alternately ; blood rushed from her nostrils, and she sunk in the arms of her attendants, by whom she was carried senseless from the apartment. Thus the assembly was suddenly broken up by a most unprovoked insult towards the queen, from her royal consort. Charles had, indeed, taken up an opinion that the queen wanted to govern, by her refusal to admit Lady Castlemaine as her lady of the bed-chamber, and was resolved to carry his point. The lord chancellor, though so much disgusted by Charles's conduct that he had quitted the court, suffered himself to be employed as a sort of mediator, to persuade the queen into acquiescence. He had an interview with her, but on his attempting to introduce the subject, her tears and indignation prevented him from proceeding with so unpleasant a topic. This forbearance led Catherine the next day to beg his pardon, for giving way to a passion that "was ready to break her heart," and to ask his advice in the matter, upon which she now desired him to speak freely. Notwithstanding this favourable chance for the politic minister, with all his preamble, he could obtain no better answer than his employer, viz, that "sooner than submit she would embark for Lisbon in any little vessel."

Notwithstanding this, Charles followed up his purpose in his own way ; reproaching Catherine with want of duty, and with seeking her amusements out of his society,¹ knowing well at the same time, that he

possessed the heart of this amiable and ill-used woman. He then ceased to insist; but by neglecting her, and excluding her from his parties of pleasure, he showed her that she was an object of indifference to him. The very courtiers, watchful of their master's feelings, crowded round Lady Castlemaine, so that Catherine seemed to have become a mere cypher and to have lost her influence over those around her. Her pride gave way under these repeated humiliations, and she yielded at last against her principles. For this she was despised by those who had honoured her firmness, and even incurred the contempt of Charles, who from having respected her motives for resistance, now came to regard them as proud and petulant, rather than originating in female dignity.

Lady Castlemaine was accordingly chosen lady of the bedchamber and from that time forward Charles and Catherine preserved outwardly their good understanding towards each other. Catherine seems to have closed her eyes to all the king's deviations from conjugal duty, and to have supported with a stoical indifference the presence of his mistresses. Accommodating herself to her situation, she strove, by encouraging every gaiety which might be agreeable to the king, to win his regard, while she was degrading her own attachment by the line of conduct she pursued. Such a life was not one of happiness, nor what Catherine had expected, and her health began to give way amidst the constant self-denial she was required to exercise. During the summer a brief interval of pleasure was afforded her by the arrival of the queen-mother, Henrietta, from France, who treated her with great respect and affection, and who seemed to inspire Charles and his courtiers with the same feelings. There was much public pageantry and merriment. The joy, however, was but evanescent. One of the queen's many mortifications was that of not becoming mother of an heir to the throne, which she had fondly hoped might have endeared her to her fickle husband. Amid these many troubles Catherine was attacked by a dangerous fever, during which her life was twice given over by the physicians, and in which, during her paroxysms of delirium, she raved repeatedly about her children, fancying she had *three*, and expressing much fear lest her *boy* should turn out an *ugly* one. The king, who was by her side throughout her illness, to soothe her said, "No; he

to buy a pair of garters for her sweete harte, with such an extravagant rusticity that they were discovered, and scarcely could effect their retreat to their horses for the crowds of men and women and children who flocked about them and followed them even to the gates of the court. On another occasion the queen's charman "not knowing who she was, went away from her, so she was all alone and much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach, some say in a cart."

was a very pretty boy," to which Catherine answered, "Nay, if he be like you he is a very pretty boy indeed, and I should be very well pleased with it." On another occasion her first words on waking were, "How are the children?" Had the poor queen indeed become a mother, her affectionate heart might have received, in the exercise of her maternal duties, some consolation for the neglect of Charles and the insolence of his mistresses.

The queen's illness, however, called forth a latent tenderness in the king, for which Catherine was so grateful that it seemed to compensate for all her sufferings; indeed to the tenderness Charles showed, her recovery was mainly attributable.* Waller has thus alluded to the tears shed by the king during his attendance on Catherine,—her case being then considered hopeless:—

He that was never known to mourn
So many kingdoms from him torn,
His tears reserved for you, more dear,
More prized than all those kingdoms were
For when no healing art avail'd,
When cordials and elixirs fail'd,
On your pale cheek he dropp'd the shower,
Reviv'd you like a dying flower

Another of Waller's poems is called, "Tea commanded by her Majesty;" and he wrote an epigram, "Upon a card which her Majesty tore at ombre," which, however, has not much point in it.

makes allusion to a habit of putting jewels in her mouth. After accusing poor Catherine of bad dancing, and observing on the king himself,

— who would have his wife to have his crown,

the rhymes run politely on with the remark—

See in her mouth a sparkling diamond shine,
The first good thing that e'er came from that mine!

Catherine, though she might give occasion to much satire, never incurred blame, and when a divorce was seriously agitated it was the voice of Charles himself that put a stop to the affair, though it had even been discussed in the House of Lords, by saying, that "if his conscience would allow him to divorce the queen, it would suffer him to despatch her out of the world." He however tried without success to induce her to enter a nunnery. Again Charles took the part of his unoffending queen when she was accused by the wretches Oates and Bedloe of a conspiracy against his life. Catherine was actually arraigned on a charge of high treason at the bar of the House of Commons by Oates, but the stories invented against her, and the blunders of the accuser, not only failed, but saved the life of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who was tried on the charge of accepting a bribe of 15,000*l.* to poison Charles. Moreover, when the Commons petitioned the king to remove Catherine from Whitehall, and send her attendants from the country, he simply observed, "They think I have a mind for a new wife; but, for all that, I will not stand by and see an innocent woman abused." These facts afford evidence of some redeeming points even in the profligate Charles the Second.

The death of the Earl of Ossory, who had succeeded Don Francisco de Melo, in 1676, as Lord Chamberlain to the queen, called forth the following amiable letter from Catherine, addressed by her own hand to the Duke of Ormond, father of the earl. The letter is yet preserved among the Ormond papers, endorsed, "Received, 3rd September, 1681."

MY LORD DUKE OF ORMOND,

I do not think any thing I can say will lessen your trouble for the death of my Lord Ossory, who is so great a loss to the King and the publicke, as well as to my own particular service, that I know not how to express it; but every day will teach me, by shewing me the want I shall find of so true a friend. But I must have so much pity upon you as to say but little on so sad a subject, conjuring you to believe that I am,

My Lord Duke of Ormond,

Your very affectionate friend,

"CATHERINA REGINA."

When Charles, who had been struck with apoplexy, was on his death-bed, February 1685, the queen sent to request permission to attend him, and to implore forgiveness for any offences which she had from ignorance committed against him. An affectionate answer was returned by Charles, who said he had nothing to forgive but had to demand her pardon for the many wrongs he had done her. Catherine was admitted to the bedside of her husband, but was soon compelled to retire by the presence of the notorious Duchess of Portsmouth. The grief of Catherine, the reality of which might perhaps have been doubted at the dissolution of such a tie as this, was visible to those who attended to condole with her on the mournful occasion, and who were received by the widowed queen in an apartment lighted only with tapers, and the walls of which were hung with funeral black from the ceiling to the floor. Indeed, although Catherine survived her husband twenty-one years, she continued devotedly attached to his memory. The king's last request had been "Let not poor Nelly starve," and no greater proof of attachment could have been given by the queen than that of allowing the Duke of St. Albans, son of Nell Gwynne, an annual pension of 2000*l.* out of her own income. This circumstance, if true, tells much in favour of Catherine.

Somerset House was the residence of Catherine after her husband's death, and during the summer months she spent some part of her time at her villa at Hammersmith, where she resided in much privacy, and with great economy, if we except the splendid concerts which she gave at stated periods, music being one of her favourite pursuits. She was much respected by James the Second, and by the whole court during the seven years she resided in England after Charles's death. In 1692, the queen dowager returned to Lisbon, to pass the residue of her days in her native land, carrying with her whatever she had amassed by the prudent management of her income and some valuable pictures which formed part of the payment of a debt which she claimed from the crown. On her homeward way she was invited by Louis the Fourteenth to visit the French court, but she was too anxious to behold the home of her youth to accept the invitation. After an illness on the road which detained her for a time, she entered Lisbon, January 30th/1693, being triumphantly attended by her brother Don Pedro, then the reigning monarch, and a large train of his nobility who had hastened forth to welcome her on her return. Although she quitted England, Catherine provided for her English household to the day of her death; the Countess of Fingall and her daughters attended

her to Portugal, but at the end of eight years returned to their own country by permission of their royal mistress.

Catherine continued to be treated with the greatest respect and attention in Portugal. The last years of her life were passed at Bemposta, where she built a new palace, chapel, and quinta, and whence occasional visits were made to the court by the express desire of her brother the king. In 1704, Catherine being ill and unable to quit Bemposta, the court repaired to her palace there to receive a visit from the Archduke Charles, then a candidate for the Spanish crown, and who was supported in his claims by England and Portugal.

In 1705, Catherine, who had been neglected and despised by the wits of England as a person of no capacity, was in consequence of the tact she exhibited in governing during a short season when her brother required her services, made Queen Regent of Portugal during his severe illness, and as such she conducted a war against Philip of Anjou, King of Spain, with so much ability, that the Portuguese armies were crowned with complete success.

Little more remains to be said of Catherine: she had proved herself not only to be endowed with the noblest affections of the heart but with superior mental qualifications. Her death was sudden, from an attack of cholic, December 31st, 1705, she being rather more than sixty-seven years of age at the time. Her will, dated February 14th, 1699, made her brother Don Pedro her heir, and she not only richly endowed her relatives, but left many charitable bequests. By her own request her remains were removed to the monastery of Belem, and her obsequies were conducted with the greatest possible solemnity and grandeur by order of Don Pedro, who directed a suspension of all public business for eight days, and a general mourning during the space of a whole year, to testify his respect and that of the nation to the memory of the royal deceased.

MARY BEATRICE OF MODENA,

QUEEN OF JAMES THE SECOND.

THE parents of Mary Beatrice were Alphonso d'Esté, Duke of Modena and Laura Martinuzzi, a Roman lady. She was a *seven months' child*, their eldest offspring, born October 5th, 1658. Her father reigned but four years in his duchy, dying in the prime of life, and leaving his two surviving children, Mary Beatrice and Francis the Second, under the guardianship and regency of the duchess. Her mother exercised great severity in their education, both as regards morals and religion, and the princess later in life used to recall passages in the stern discipline of her childhood with marked disapprobation. She was sent to finish her education in a convent of Carmelite nuns, and at a very early age conceived the idea of taking the veil. So innocent, but it must be said, so ignorant also, in the very groundwork of education was she, that when at the age of fifteen overtures of marriage were made to her on the part of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, she neither knew who he was nor where England might be. She was then tall and considered very handsome, could read and write Latin and French, and had a genius and a passion for music. But her earnest desire to be a nun remained, after all the brilliancy of this offer had been explained to her. When she learnt that he was verging on forty years of age, she entreated that her youngest aunt might marry him instead. The negotiations were very troublesome, and she finally acceded only in obedience to the commands of her mother and amidst floods of tears. Nothing, indeed, could pacify her until it was settled that her mother should accompany her to England, which she did, and remained there with her six weeks. The Duke of York met her upon the sands at Dover, and the nuptials were solemnised at that place.

The honours of the Duke of York had already, before the date of this marriage with a Roman Catholic princess, begun to lose their

value in the sight of this Protestant nation. The feats of valour which he had displayed with Turenne in the Protestant cause of old, the dangers which he had fearlessly incurred more recently in battle with the Dutch, while admiral of the English fleet, all were being fast obliterated by the obstinate bigotry with which, as heir apparent, he persisted in defying the religious opinions of the House of Commons and of the country. The troubles which he drew down upon himself, upon his second consort, and her posterity, were beginning to be fomented almost with his marriage. Five years, however, from the date of her marriage are spoken of by Mary d'Esté as the happiest of her life, notwithstanding the death almost at their birth of two or three of her first children. She became deeply attached to her husband despite some infidelities on his part; she soon, also, learnt the English language and became a patroness of literature and authors. The duke's banishment to Flanders was scarcely an interruption to this dream, because she accompanied him, and when he obtained leave from Charles the Second, a little later, to transfer his residence to Scotland, she again followed his fortunes. It was in November, 1679, that the Duke and Duchess of York took up their quarters at Holyrood House, where they became exceedingly popular, and remained, with the exception of two or three visits to London, until they were called to the throne. It was while she held her court in Scotland that a grave accident occurred to Mary of Modena. She was thrown from her horse, dragged some distance and received several kicks from the animal before she could be extricated. She was at first thought dead, but fortunately had met with no dangerous wounds. On her recovery she again took equestrian exercise, which, however, the united entreaties of her husband and mother persuaded her to discontinue.

The duchess was again *enceinte* in 1684, and the duke being more popular just then in England, the king desired that the child should be born at St. James's. It was on the return of James by sea for the purpose of conducting his duchess to London, that he encountered that terrible shipwreck in the "Gloucester," in which many perished. Notwithstanding the terrors of her ladies, Mary Beatrice went by water immediately afterwards to London, and was, early in 1685, present at the death-bed of the king, her brother-in-law, for whom her grief was excessive.

The first act of Queen Mary d'Esté on ascending the British throne was somewhat arbitrary. It concerned not the subjects of these realms, but her own brother, from whom she had parted long

years before on terms of the purest affection, but who had chosen to decline the matrimonial state up to the age of five-and twenty. The Queen of England had selected a wife for him, and after in vain communicating her pleasure, proceeded to display much bitterness and anger in her correspondence, and threatened to withdraw her powerful support from his duchy and become his enemy. The sound morality of her conduct, however, made a strong impression amidst a court which had learnt to live in abandonment, though she had not, with all her youthful charms of person and mind, weaned the affections of her husband, as yet, from his avowed mistress, Catharine Sedley. In the early part of their reign, the queen suffered much unhappiness on this account, but at length, after James had made Sedley, Countess of Dorchester, and bestowed on her some Irish possessions, the wrong was at least publicly at an end. The next event which aroused to new pangs the sensitive heart of the queen, was the death of her mother at Rome, on July 19, 1687. The duchess had visited Mary more than once since they first quitted Italy together, and an affectionate correspondence had been maintained to the last.

The queen herself was very ill on the voyage, but both arrived safely at Calais on December 11th. She was only then in her thirty-first year. Sixteen years before, she had quitted Italy, as she now quitted England, for ever.

The attentions of Louis the Fourteenth to Mary Beatrice, from the day of her landing in his territory, were munificent beyond description. She was his adopted daughter, and well did this powerful friend in her need supply the place of a parent towards her. When joined by her husband, he gave up to the royal pair one of the finest palaces in France, St. Germain, and there they held their court during the remainder of their career. A melancholy separation from her husband, when he departed on his Irish expedition, speedily ensued ; and his failure at the battle of the Boyne might have afflicted her more painfully, had it not brought him back to her side in safety. She collected and advanced sums of money during his absence, and her letters to Jacobites at home, both now and afterwards, displayed considerable talent for business. Religion also much occupied her thoughts ; she had formed an intimacy with the inmates of the Convent of Chaillot, which deepened as years of increased misfortune rolled on ; and whatever time she could spare from her husband and his interests, and the tedious ceremonies of the French court, was passed in visiting or corresponding with them. The destruction of the French fleet by the English, which occurred shortly before the birth of his youngest child, and with it the last hope of James, seemed to have unsettled the royal exile's mind ; for he protracted his absence at La Hogue, despite the queen's earnest solicitations for his return, until almost the period of her *accouchement*. The birth of the Princess Louisa took place on June 28, 1692. In little more than two years from that date, the death of her brother added one more to the number of her griefs. It was about this time, 1694, that the exiled queen sold her jewels for the support of her numerous faithful followers at St. Germain ; for though Louis allowed a certain sum for their maintenance, her own dower, voted by parliament, was regularly appropriated by William of Orange.

At the commencement of 1695, Mary the Second being dead, James's hopes revived in England, and there was another heart-rending parting between him and his doting wife previous to a descent upon that country, which he meditated ; but the winds and waves this time destroyed the fleet, and returned him to her in despair although in safety. His health, however, began to decline fast, and though it was seven years from that date ere he breathed his last, he had frequent attacks

which warned her that the heaviest blow of all to her heart was approaching. Her conjugal tenderness has rarely been surpassed; and when he was struck with apoplexy in March, 1701, her violent grief was only equalled by the devotion of her attendance on him till the day of his death, September 16, following.

The widowhood of Queen Mary Beatrice, with all its trials of poverty, sickness, and disappointed hopes for her son, has to be summed up here in few words. She was nearly forty-three years of age at her husband's death; she lived to the age of sixty, having survived James more than sixteen years, and having spent thirty years in exile after her deposition. Before that event, on the 7th of May, 1718, she witnessed consecutively the deaths of her enemy William the Third, her daughter Louisa, of small pox, in 1712, her kind friend and father, Louis the Fourteenth, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, her rival, and her step-daughter, Queen Anne. She was besides doomed to a cruel separation from her son at the peace of Utrecht, when he was compelled to retire from the French territory, and finally to behold as the destruction of all her long-cherished hopes, the utter defeat of her son's cause in the Rebellion of 1715. What alternating effects all these occurrences produced upon the susceptible heart of the lonely and now aged exile, Mary Beatrice of Modena, must be left to the imagination of the reader.

The funeral obsequies of the departed queen were performed at the Convent of Chaillot, at the expenso of the French government. She had desired that her remains should rest there, and no Queen of England ever died so poor.

MARY THE SECOND,

QUEEN OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.

MARY, the eldest daughter of James the Second, was born at St. James's Palace, A.D. 1662, during the reign of her uncle, King Charles, her father being then Duke of York, and heir apparent to the throne, which he afterwards filled. Her mother, Anne Hyde, was a daughter of the celebrated Lord Clarendon. It was fortunate for Mary and for England that her mother was a Protestant, and, perhaps, quite as much so that she attracted little public notice, owing to the expectations of a male succession from the marriage of her uncle Charles the Second, which took place about the time of her birth. She was named Mary after her aunt, the Princess of Orange, and Mary Queen of Scots; and Prince Rupert stood as her godfather. Soon afterwards, she was sent to her grandfather's, the Earl of Clarendon, at Twickenham, to be nursed in a pure air. In fifteen months, a little brother was born, —James, Duke of Cambridge,—who did not live long; and in about another such interval of time, her sister Anne. The three children were for the most part brought up at Twickenham and Richmond, till the death of their mother, which took place in 1671, when Mary was about nine years of age. Their governess at Richmond was Lady Francis Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk; and the two princesses were constantly associated with Lady Villiers' six daughters; the whole of whom ever afterwards clung tenaciously to the courts and fortunes of Mary and Anne; and Elizabeth Villiers, the eldest, became in future years the trouble of Mary's wedded life. Here also were introduced the afterwards celebrated Frances and Sarah Jennings; and it is curious that Sarah, afterwards the Duchess of Marlborough, attached herself at this early age especially to the Princess Anne, as her play-fellow. After the marriage of their father with the Catholic princess, Mary of Modena, the education of the two children was removed from under their father's control, and they were still educated in the Protestant faith.

In the sixteenth year of Mary's age, she bestowed her hand upon William Henry of Nassau, the Prince of Orange, from which period she continued to reside with her husband in Holland, until February 12th, 1689, when, her husband having won from her father the throne of England, she came over, and was solemnly proclaimed queen. To this match Mary was originally extremely averse. In fact, as is generally the fate of princesses, her inclination was very little consulted in the various projects entertained for her marriage. In her fifteenth year her father wished to ally her to the Dauphin of France, but Charles the Second, and his council, destined her for William of Orange, her cousin. If we consider the description given of William on his visit to London in the winter of 1670, which he spent there, being then nineteen years of age, we shall not wonder that Mary was not greatly taken with him. He was a constant sufferer from ill health, labouring with asthma, small and weak of frame, and rather deformed. He was, notwithstanding this, always thinking of war and military exercises. Mary, on the contrary, was a young girl of distinguished beauty, and passionately fond of poetry. William made matters worse afterwards by actually refusing Mary when offered to him by Charles and her father, saying insultingly, 'that he was not in a condition to think of a wife.' When, therefore, many circumstances had concurred to induce William seriously to wish for a marriage with Mary, not the least of which was her increasing prospect of one day wearing the crown of England, it is no wonder that Mary on her part should have been additionally averse to the match. From the evidence of contemporaries it is quite certain that she was very wretched at the time of her marriage, and for a long while afterwards. Scarcely had the marriage taken place when a brother was born, which cut off her direct prospect to the throne. William appeared much chagrined at the circumstance, and could not avoid showing it. Mary's tutor, Dr Lake, reports that the court noticed with indignation William's sullenness and clownishness, and his neglect of the Princess. They spoke of him as "the Dutch Monster," and as Caliban, a name which the Princess Anne never forgot.

stances, but the life of Mary is thus described by the French Ambassador there to his own court. "Until now, the existence of the Princess of Orange has been thus regulated : from the time she rose in the morning till eight in the evening she never left her chamber, except in the summer, when she was permitted to walk about once in seven or eight days. No one had liberty to enter her room, not even her lady of honour, nor her maids of honour, of which she had but four ; but she had a troop of Dutch *filles de chambre*, of whom a detachment must every day mount guard on her, and have orders never to leave her."

This but too well agrees with the account of Dr. Cowell, Mary's chaplain, who says that "the prince had made her his absolute slave ; that the English attendants dare not speak to her, and that he thought the princess's heart was like to break." As the time approached that Mary must in all probability be called to the English throne, the gloom and distance of William towards Mary grow more marked and intolerable. Mary was sunk in grief. But at length Burnet, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, made the discovery that the cause of William's reserve and acerbity was his suspicion that Mary would not consent to his sharing with her the regal dignity which was her inheritance. On Mary being made acquainted with this, with her wonted generosity, she immediately despatched Burnet to assure him that as far as lay in her power William should share to the utmost the equality of the throne. On this, Burnet tells us, that a great change appeared instantly in William's conduct towards his wife. We fear, however, that the conduct of William towards her for the greater part of their abode in Holland cannot be made to appear greatly to his honour. He is accused of being far from correct in his behaviour towards one of the Miss Villiers, maids of honour to Mary, and yet to have kept them about her person ; which, with his constant plottings for the usurpation of her father's throne, cannot be reconciled with that honour which we would fain recognise in the hero of the Revolution of 1688.

The queen landed at Gravesend the 12th of February, 1688, and was received with great enthusiasm ; orange blossoms being borne before her, and young damsels scattering flowers in her path. The contest with James the Second, her father, soon called William, her husband, to Ireland ; and on this occasion ; and also in those of his numerous visits to Holland in prosecution of his perpetual wars, Mary was left in full care and discharge of the government—a trust which she executed with a wisdom and ability which have found the amplest acknow-

ledgments even from the most zealous detractors, and the most bitter enemies of this queen. Miss Strickland, one of the last of her historians, who on all occasions appears particularly delighted to find causes of condemnation in her and her Dutch husband, and who has dilated with evident pleasure on the want of affection attributed to Queen Mary towards her father and her sister Anne, is not the less compelled to bear her testimony to the talents of Mary for government. "The abilities of Queen Mary," says Miss Strickland, "and the importance of her personal exertions as a sovereign, have been as much underrated, as the goodness of her heart and Christian excellences have been over-estimated. She really reigned alone the chief part of the six years that she was Queen of Great Britain. On her talents for government, and all her husband owed to her sagacity, and exclusive affection for him, there is little need to dwell: her own letters fully develope the best part of her character and conduct. William the Third, with the exception of the first year of his election to the throne of the British empire, was seldom resident more than four months together in England, and would scarcely have tarried that space of time, but for the purpose of inducing parliament to advance the enormous sums to support the war he carried on in Flanders, where he commanded as generalissimo of the confederated armies of the German empire against France, as heretofore, but with this difference, that all the wealth of the British kingdoms was turned to supply the funds for those fields of useless slaughter; the prospect of obtaining such sinews of war having been the main object of William's efforts to dethrone his uncle."

Ireland and the highlands of Scotland were wholly devoted to the banished king : and a great amount of English subjects were equally ready to embrace the cause of his son, though averse to himself. The very ministers of the crown, with whom Mary was left for the greater portion of her time to govern alone, were confessedly, by the very historians who blame her, Miss Strickland included, secretly traitors at heart. Added to this, William was excessively jealous of his prerogative, and Mary was a most devoted wife, willingly sacrificing her own rights to the will and assumptions of her husband. When these circumstances are thrown into the account, and the well-known fact is borne in mind that in matters of such real and intense interest as the succession to thrones, private and domestic feelings are universally sacrificed, we may safely regard much of the charge of unfilial feeling as the only too pleasing allegation of her enemies. It is clear that she was by no means destitute of affection, for her whole life as well as existing documents bear proof that she married William with unconcealed aversion ; she grew to entertain the most ardent conjugal attachment to him ; so much so as that she resisted all attempts to make her the Queen of England independent of him. To his pleasure she sacrificed her hereditary claim to the throne, and though admitted to an equal share of it, yet, even while governing in her husband's absence, she never opened parliament in person, nor did she even accompany William on any such occasion when he was at home. That this was *in submission to his known prejudices*, is clear from the fact, that William himself on returning to England, and thanking parliament for its good government in his absence, never, on any occasion, mentions his queen by name, as he ought to have done, and with praises for her able management,—an omission so strange that parliament felt bound to thank the queen itself by special address.

As regards her sister Anne, the same causes produced the same eventual alienation between that princess and Mary. The first ground of quarrel was William's parsimonious attempt to withhold the 50,000*l.* per annum settled by the government on Anne. King William, with a civil list of 600,000*l.* per annum, was still always in need. His constant wars drained the British treasury, and at the same time he was surrounded by a host of people who were scrambling for all possible places, grants, and perquisites. The Whig nobility by whom he had been brought in showed themselves rapacious beyond all example, and William's position was too critical to refuse them. They soon contrived to load themselves with the crown lands ; and

besides the enormous grants which William conferred on his three Dutch followers, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zulicstein, he found the English nobility absolutely insatiable. "To gratify as large a number as possible of the rapacious claimants of office," says Evelyn, "the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Great Seal, were all put in commission of many unexpected persons to *gratify the more*. But this told two ways; for Admiral Herbert, who expected to be made Lord High Admiral, and Danby, who expected to be re-appointed Lord Treasurer, were extremely disgusted. Lord Churchill, afterwards Marlborough, Mordant, Lovelace, Oxford, and others, had offers, but wanted something better, &c." In fact, no reign has shown greater greediness amongst the courtiers.

Oppressed, therefore, by the demands of his Dutch wars, and those demands at times, which, if not gratified, would soon have sent off the disappointed nobles to James again, William was not only compelled to commence that system of forestalling the revenue by loans, which has grown into our national debt, but he sought to cut down expenditure in every quarter that he could. He tried this plan upon the Princess Anne, but only with the result of a deadly opposition to himself and his queen, who most heartily supported him in all such measures, from Anne and her partisans and dependants. At the head of these were Lord and Lady Marlborough, who were not only extremely ready for all that they could get, but were in treasonable correspondence with the court of the deposed monarch. These circumstances caused William and Mary not only to dismiss Marlborough from his office at court, but also to forbid the appearance of Lady Marlborough there, and moreover to command Anne to dismiss them from *her* service. Anne, who up to a late period of her life was, as is well known, completely bewitched with the Marlboroughs, refused to comply, and hence the permanent coldness which took place between Mary and her sister.

Her anxiety for the decorum of religion in one instance betrayed her into a measure which reminds us of some enactments urgently demanded by a religious section of the community at this moment, who may draw some idea from the success of Queen Mary in such legislation, of what would be the result of their aim if brought to a similar trial. "At an early period of her regnal labours," says Miss Strickland, "the queen requested her council to assist her in framing regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath. All hackney carriages and horses were forbidden to work on that day, or their drivers to ply for customers. The humanity, however, of this regulation was neutralised by the absurdity of other acts. She had constables stationed at the corner of streets, who were charged to capture all puddings and pies on their progress to bakers' ovens on Sundays, and such ridiculous scenes in the streets took place, in consequence of the owners fighting fiercely for their dinners, that the laws were suspended amid universal laughter."

Mary's chief pleasures, and almost her only sources of expenditure during her husband's continual and long absences, were building palaces and laying out gardens. Under her superintendence chiefly arose Kensington Palace; and the new portion of Hampton Court, with the garden there, are still called by her name. To her care we owe it, too, that the greater part of Greenwich Palace was not swept away by her husband to make way for some Dutch erection; and to her a benevolence that will do her eternal honour—the conversion of that palace into a hospital for invalid or superannuated seamen.

Although Mary has not been honoured with a portrait in this volume, she certainly was entitled to hold a place amongst the Royal Beauties of this country, being tall in person, majestic and graceful in mien, having a serene countenance, a ruddy complexion, and beautiful features. Both mental and personal accomplishments she possessed in a very high degree. Mary's love of reading was very great, though she experienced much annoyance from the painful drawback she found to this in the continual humour in her eyes, from which she was a sufferer, as was also her sister, the Princess Anne, and Anne's only child which survived for any length of time, the Duke of Gloucester. Poetry was Mary's chief delight, of which she was esteemed a good judge, and she also particularly liked the study of history, as presenting her with models for imitation. Nor was this queen desirous only of her own improvement; she very often caused good books to be placed in the way of her attendants,

that when they took their turn in waiting, their time might not be idly spent. Queen Mary was a kind mistress to her servants, and testified a sincere desire not only to reform manners generally, but to confer benefits on those around her. Some of her own leisure, as before said, she devoted to architecture, which was one of her favourite pursuits, her love of which she was accustomed to vindicate, on the ground that it employed so many hands. She was a gracious queen, one of the most obliging of wives, she protected the arts, and was a mother to the distressed; her charities being over unostentatious; in short, the character of Mary presents a pattern of every virtue that could adorn a woman.

To Mary the nation owes a debt of eternal gratitude; for, through her wisdom and disinterestedness, combined with her respect and affection for her husband, the Revolution of 1688 was completed, and the British Constitution placed for ever on its present true and immovable basis. The daughter of the king who, more than all other monarchs, had endeavoured to destroy the rights of this kingdom, she at once admitted the plea of William, that he ought not to consent to accept the crown as the hereditary right of his wife, but as the gift of the nation. Thus, by a daughter of the most bigoted and despotic prince who ever sat on the throne of these realms, the mischievous sophism of the divine right of kings was at once, and for ever, annihilated, and the "Bill of Rights" established on the grand truth that "all power proceeds from the people." To this quiet and yet complete revolution, so far, both in theory and in time, in advance of all other revolutions, England owes its long course of unexampled power and glory. Therefore, when we felicitate ourselves on these blessings, we should remember the name of Mary the Second, with the reverence and the gratitude which are due to it.

To the regret of her subjects, this amiable queen expired December 28th, 1695,* at Kensington, of the small-pox, being at the time of her death in the thirty-third year of her age. King William was so deeply affected by her loss, that for many weeks after he could neither attend to affairs of state, nor receive the visits of his nobility; and in answer to Tennison, who sought to console him under his affliction, he remarked that "he could not but grieve, since he had lost a wife who for seventeen years had never been guilty of an indiscretion."

ANNE.

ANNE was born of the same parents as Mary the Second, on the 6th of February, 1665, at St. James's Palace, and resembled from childhood, in features and person, the family of her mother, Ann Hyde, rather than the Stuarts. She was but six years old when her mother died, and, two years after, her father, then Duke of York, introduced to her Mary Beatrice, of Modena, as her step-mother.

While yet quite a child, Anne was taught by the celebrated Mrs. Betterton the art of that graceful delivery for which she was, as queen, so much distinguished in her speeches before Parliament. She had, besides, much taste for music, and played well on the guitar. But, partly owing to a defluxion which had fallen upon her eyes, her early education was much neglected. Her faults of spelling are frequent in all her letters extant, and she acquired early a taste for the card-table and minute points of etiquette, instead of having her attention directed to the cultivation of those personal talents which marked her sister's career. Nevertheless, she inherited many counterbalancing qualities, which eventually won her from her subjects the lasting name of "the good Queen Anne."

The hereditary Prince of Hanover, afterwards George the First, was, in 1680, a suitor for the hand of the Princess Anne. She married, however, on the 28th of July, 1683, George, brother of Christian the Fifth, King of Denmark. He was a very amiable man and affectionate husband, of moderate abilities and a somewhat retiring disposition.

Anne was, beyond a doubt, ambitious and vain. It is impossible to acquit her, as princess, of much want of affection towards her father. All the fondness which he used to lavish upon Mary before her marriage, became centred in Anne from that time. He made her a very handsome provision on ascending the throne, yet, in 1688, she is found secretly corresponding with William and Mary in their intrigues for the

British throne ; and it was with her that the report originated, in the same year, of the spurious origin of the new-born prince, who was afterwards generally designated the Pretender. When the crisis of the great political revolution arrived, Anne made her escape by night from her residence at the Cockpit at Whitehall, during the absence of King James with the army. He had confided in her to the last, without the remotest suspicion of her hostile intentions. She proceeded to Nottingham, headed a large body of troops, and openly espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange. And on the very night when her father was making his retreat over a rather stormy sea, Anne of Denmark, having returned to her old quarters in London as if nothing unusual had happened, went to the play ! Her zeal for the Protestant religion, in which she had been strictly educated, cannot palliate or account for such an unfilial and needless display of ingratitude.

On the 24th of July, 1689, the Princess Anne gave birth to a son, who was created Duke of Gloucester. Anne had thirteen children, but this was the only one that lived ; and, indeed, it was with difficulty that this one survived to the age of eleven, when, after a display of much precocity under the frequent ailments incidental to water on the brain, he died of an attack of scarlet fever. This loss was one of the keenest pangs which Anne suffered, for the depth of her affection as a mother has never been questioned.

During the reign of William and Mary, this princess was repeatedly at difference with them, and, instead of reaping the benefits which her former intrigues in their favour might have warranted her to expect, she found herself subjected to frequent indignities at their hands. The sisters are said to have been on ill terms to the last, although Anne certainly sent a message of reconciliation to the death-bed of Mary. It was notorious that William hated his sister-in-law in his heart, and his true feeling towards her is tolerably evinced by his refusal to see her when about to die.

From the time of the Duke of Gloucester's birth, Anne increased greatly in person, and became a martyr to frequent attacks of dropsy, which rendered her unable to walk. She had recourse to cold baths and hunting. She was excessively fond of the latter recreation, which she pursued in a chaise during the summer months, according to the custom then in vogue. On a much later occasion, when queen, she is known to have driven herself forty miles during one hunt.

The death of her son was speedily followed by that of her father at St. Germaine ; and on the 25th of March in the following year, 1702,



she succeeded to the British crown by the death of William the Third. Just previously, a struggle had commenced between France and Austria for the throne of Spain; and, by siding with the Austrian claimant, William had succeeded in entailing upon his successor, an inevitable European war, which was protracted through nearly the whole of her reign.

On attaining the supreme power, the generosity of her character and her genuine attachment to her subjects at large became signally apparent. In her first speech in the House of Lords, in the course of which she styled herself *entirely English*, she voluntarily gave back 100,000*l.* of the handsome revenue unanimously voted to her. Her coronation took place on April 23, 1702; she was afflicted with gout at the time, and was carried through some of the ceremonials in an arm-chair. One of the first and greatest acts of her reign was that which still claims the grateful remembrance of many, under the denomination of "Queen Anne's Bounty." The sovereign had a right to the first-fruits of every benefice conferred by the crown; but she declined to arrogate these gains to herself, and created instead a fund therewith, to augment the livings of the half-starved poorer clergy.

The name of Marlborough is inseparably associated with the reign of Queen Anne. Its history is little else but a history of the court intrigues of the *parvenue* duchess of that name, and the brilliant successes of the military genius of that age, the duke. A slight sketch of their lives and characters is requisite for a just comprehension of the acts of this monarch.

Sarah Jennings, from having been the playmate of Anne in infancy, became the favourite companion of her youth, and, after her marriage with Colonel Churchill, was regularly attached to the household of the princess. The secret correspondence which Anne carried on with Mary in Holland, and the subsequent intrigues by which she aided the downfall of her father, were not merely advised upon with Sarah Churchill, but in great measure instigated by her. She thus fell into a dangerous dependence upon the confidence of her favourite; and when, soon after the accession of William and Mary, the Earl of Marlborough was suspected of treason, and Mary desired her to harbour them no longer about her person, the pertinacity of Anne's refusal may be well understood. She had believed in their disinterested friendship for her until after the period of her sister's decease; but between that date and her own accession it is certain that her mind underwent a change concerning the character and professions of

Sarah of Marlborough. To displace the Marlboroughs, however, might endanger her peace, perhaps her throne, by causing an exposure of all her early confidential communications with the favourite. In this dilemma, Queen Anne discerned that, by overwhelming them with honours and emoluments, she should purchase their silence for their own sakes, and so disembarass herself of them with ease. Thus the narrow-minded selfishness, the vulgar violence, and the incessant peculations of this woman were directly rewarded. The earl was created duke; and towards the end of 1704 their family junta, as it was called, held all the principal offices in the government and the queen's household. The sanguinary victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet won them showers of royal presents, amongst which were the palace of Woodstock and the site of Marlborough house, besides large votes of money from Parliament. At a period when the Marlboroughs were possessed of 90,000*l.*, her Majesty was obliged to borrow 20*l.* of one of her ladies for a private purpose,—to such utter penury had the Keeper of the Privy Purse and Mistress of the Robes, the duchess, reduced her. It was no marvel that about the same time the domestic tyrant should have presumed to taunt Anne with "the hereditary obstinacy of her family," and to tell her "not to answer her!" But the cruelty of these foreign wars, and the unbounded ambition which the duke began to exhibit, were perhaps more horrible in the sight of the queen, and more immediately the causes of the expulsion of the family junta from office, than all the exuberant insolence of the duchess. At Malplaquet, twenty thousand men are said to have been killed on the English side alone; and so elated was the general, that he insidiously demanded of the queen to make him "*Captain-General for life*, as the war would last probably for ever!"

The Prince of Denmark died on October 28, 1708, leaving her to reign alone; for, though he had declined any share in the regal power, his private counsels were doubtless often sought and followed. His influence is said to have maintained the Marlborough faction for some years longer than Anne desired. Her grief for his loss was intense: it was very long ere she was sufficiently recovered to attend to public matters. Her first solace then was to rid herself of her enemies; and so effectually did she apply herself to the task, that in the course of the one year 1710, she freed herself of every member of the Marlborough family.

The memorable Treaty of Union between England and Scotland is perhaps the most important event of the queen's reign. It is notorious that this was one of her most fervent aspirations, and that she effected

it in the year 1707, in direct opposition to the Marlborough clique. The Treaty of Peace with France, towards which she had so long and anxiously laboured, was finally completed on January 18, 1712. The efforts of the party which then surrounded her seem to have been directed towards establishing the claims of the young Pretender, James, to the succession; but his religious opinions were as insuperable an objection to the Protestant Anne, as to the nation at large. There seems no doubt that, but for this circumstance, she would have gladly seconded his views.

In the autumn of 1713, Anne grew so unwieldy, that she was habitually let down through the ceiling at Windsor Castle, and placed in a carriage by a machine prepared for the purpose! From this time her health declined until July 29, 1714, when she was seized by an abscess, which proved fatal on the 1st of August following, in the fiftieth year of her life, and fourteenth of her reign.

Since the reign of Elizabeth there had been none so brilliant and prosperous as that of Anne. It is singular that under queens regnant this country has almost invariably risen remarkably in power, consequence, and reputation. Mary's short reign of five years was the exception. But around Elizabeth stood a galaxy of the ablest statesmen, and most illustrious men of genius which had ever cast a glory on this country. Shakspeare, Spenser, Sidney, Bacon, and Raleigh are the names in literature, which still diffuse their splendour around that epoch. Drake, and Raleigh, in that department too, Frobisher, Hawkins, and Lord Howard of Effingham, by the destruction of the Armada, and the splendour of their discoveries in various regions, raised the name and power of England, far beyond any former achievements of her commanders, while Bunleigh and Walsingham, though cold and unscrupulous in their political temperaments, impressed on the world a deep sense of the British national vigour.

Such again was the case under Queen Anne. The victories of Marlborough and of Lord Peterborough on the continent, the administrations of Sunderland, Godolphin, Harley, and Bolingbroke, at home; and the number and splendour of the literary and scientific men who flourished during her reign of only twelve years, elevate it so far above those which preceded and succeeded it, that it stands aloft, an object of national distinction, meeting with no points of comparison between Elizabeth's reign on the one hand, and our own times on the other.

Anne assumed the throne with a full determination to pursue with all energy the policy of William the Third for reducing the power of

France on the continent. She made alliances with Holland and Germany, and her general, Lord Marlborough, placed at the head of the combined armies achieved a series of victories so great and so ruinous to the power and reputation of France, that even Crecy and Agincourt grew dim before them. Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet are names that still testify to the military genius of England under Queen Anne though the envy of the Tory faction robbed the Whigs and the country by the treaty of Utrecht of any really solid advantage from these dazzling but costly and sanguinary achievements. By the simple fact of a change of ministry, Louis the Fourteenth was rescued from the depth of humiliation and from the danger of actual invasion by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and the Whig triumphs were resolved into a mere fact of military fame. That fame, however existed and remained casting its protecting influence over this country long after Anne had ceased to exist.

to it, is extraordinary. In art, Hogarth, though not yet known, was prosecuting his studies. In architecture, Wren and Vanbrugh were in their full fame. Wren completed his grand work, St. Paul's, which he had begun under Charles the Second, in 1710, the eighth year of Anne; and Vanbrugh was engaged in his great master-pieces of Blenheim and Castle-Howard. In the last year of her reign he was knighted for his achievements in art, as Sir Isaac Newton had been early in that reign for his astonishing discoveries in scientific philosophy. In dramatic art there were Congreve, Vanbrugh, Colley Cibber, Wycherley, and Gay. In philosophy, scientific and moral, besides Newton, there were Locke, Burnet (the author of "The Theory of the Earth"), Sir William Temple, Bolingbroke, and Flamsteed the astronomer, to whose "true and apparent diameters of all the planets" Newton was greatly indebted.

In poetry, criticism, and general literature, such an assembly of distinguished men were before the public as had not been witnessed in any former age in this country. Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Prior, Gay, Allan Ramsey, Addison, Steele, and Defoe, with his inimitable "Robinson Crusoe," and many lesser luminaries, conferred on Anne's reign the title of the Augustan age of England. It was then that the periodical literature of England, now grown into so vast and powerful an organ of civilisation and social pleasure, was commenced by Addison and Steele in the "Tatler," "Spectator," and "Guardian;"—all originated in this reign. And, finally, the church and dissent produced some of their most distinguished preachers and writers in Bishops Atterbury, Hoadly, Burnet, and Dr. South and Edmund Calamy the younger. Altogether, the reign of Anne was truly one of the most illustrious which this country has enjoyed. If she herself was not particularly distinguished for her attachment to art and literature, she yet was far more so than those who for generations succeeded her; and the circumstances of her reign were obviously favourable to the development of talent. In it Vanbrugh and Newton, as we have stated, were knighted; Bolingbroke, the philosopher, was minister; Prior, ambassador; Addison, under-secretary of state; and Steele, commissioner of stamps.

Anne was a careful patroness of the establishment of Greenwich Hospital; and her love of flowers impelled her to improve Kensington Gardens signally. Her humanity to deserters and to prisoners, and her lively solicitude for all classes of her subjects, caused an unusual anxiety among the people at large during her last illness, and rendered the mourning for her loss sincere and profound.

CAROLINE WILHELMINA OF ANSPACH,

CONSORT OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

CAROLINE WILHELMINA was the daughter of the Margrave of Anspach, and was born in 1683. She lost her father when very young, and her mother, a princess of the house of Saxe Eisenach, marrying afterwards the Elector of Saxony, the young Caroline was confided to the guardianship of Frederick of Brandenburg, subsequently King of Prussia, and thus derived the inestimable advantage of receiving her education under the superintendence of her aunt, his wife, the accomplished Sophia Charlotte, sister of George the First. No less amiable than intellectually gifted, the Queen of Prussia was honoured and beloved for her patronage of literature, science, and art; and her death, when only thirty-seven, was universally lamented. This melancholy event occurred in 1705, the same year in which her niece gave her hand to George, then Electoral Prince of Hanover.

Caroline was distinguished by an earnest integrity of purpose, above and beyond the standard of her day: her rejection of the hand of Charles, son of Leopold the First, was honourable to her principles, whether it proceeded from personal indifference, or was, as it was con-



Sophia of Zell. The discovery of the assassination of Count Konigsmark, which took place certainly by the order, and it is even said in the presence of, George the First, was made in after years, and to Caroline only were the details of the murder, and of the finding of the body, made known by her husband. It was indeed a dreadful secret, which the most unloving son might well desire to keep. By his mother, too, George the First seemed to be scarcely more warmly regarded than by his son, while the evident puttality of the Electress Sophia for her grandson was another cause of jealousy and estrangement between him and his father.

On the accession of the latter to the throne of England, they came over together in apparent harmony, but the fire of their old feuds was by no means extinguished, and burst out again more violently than ever. The flame was fanned by the partizan spirit to which it gave birth, one party voting a separate revenue of a hundred thousand a-year to be settled on the Prince of Wales, and the other negativing it with equal fervour. While absent in Hanover, the king was in a measure compelled to cede the reins of government to the heir apparent, but he did it with ungracious reluctance, and, instead of bestowing on him the expected and customary title of Regent, appointed him "Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant." During all this "stormy weather," the Princess of Wales seems to have maintained the respect, if she never won the regard, of her very unlovable father-in-law. Indeed, he seems to have hated her rather more than he hated his son, and the manner in which he used to speak of her as *cette diabollesse Madame la Princesse*, was characteristic of the man and of his feelings.

We must return, however, to earlier days, before Caroline was queen, and among her household were two ladies who require an especial introduction—Mrs Clayton, afterwards Viscountess Sundon, and Mrs Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk.

Charlotte Clayton—whose maiden name was Dyves—must have sprung from an obscure or perhaps humble family, since little or nothing is known of her until after her marriage with Mr Clayton, a clerk in the Treasury. From the letters of several of her relations, of whose fortunes she never lost sight during the days of her own power and prosperity, it is evident they were in narrow, if not indigent circumstances. Yet in some sort she was a *protégée* of the Duchess of Marlborough—who, with the example of Abigail Hill's insolence and ingratitude before her, was ever ready to rail at a low-born adventuress—for it was through the intercession of her Grace that

Mrs. Clayton was appointed bedchamber-woman to Caroline, Princess of Wales! Caroline was far too sagacious and self-sustained a woman to be what is vulgarly understood as governed by a favourite; and in accounting for the prominent position Mrs. Clayton speedily assumed, the most rational conclusion is, that the princess and she were bound by a tie of friendship much more honest and sincere than might be supposed to exist from their relative positions. It is impossible to study the correspondence of Lady Sundon without being struck by her evident congeniality of mind and character with those of her royal mistress; and assuming by quick degrees the office of confidential secretary to the queen, it is easy to understand how petitioners must have felt aware that to address Mrs. Clayton was the surest means of reaching the royal ear. She must have been a kind-hearted woman, tolerant of persevering petitioners, and willing to help them when she could. Even through the mists of nauseous adulation by which she was assailed, it is easy to discover that many honest disinterested recommendations were given, and that she possessed the rare tact which enabled her to refuse a request graciously. Certainly, from the appointment of the humblest menial, to the promotion of a church dignitary, her good word was sought, and her influence had weight—even a bishop submitted his sermons to Mrs. Clayton before he delivered them, and altered them according to her suggestions. George the Second no doubt fancied himself a despot, but the queen and Mrs. Clayton really ruled the court. The deportment of Caroline, however, towards her husband was that of the most marked respect; and later in life, when afflicted with the gout, she was accustomed to take long walks with him as she had formerly done, although obliged to plunge her foot into cold water previously, as the only means of gaining the power of temporary activity! Whether one thinks of a man who could for his own gratification permit such risk and suffering to be incurred by a wife of whom he said, "I never yet saw the woman who was worthy to buckle her shoe," or the resolution with which she concealed the sacrifice she was making, the alternative is equally amazing.

violent temper, and had a weak mind—a very common association ; and as his wife is mentioned even by those little likely to extenuate her faults as amiable and of “unimpeachable veracity,” it is fair to return some other verdict than that too commonly pronounced—“faults on both sides.” To quote from the *Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, already named.

“Towards the close of Queen Anne’s reign the young couple saw no better prospect of advancement than to repair to the court of Hanover, there to ingratiate themselves with the future sovereigns of England. So small was their income, that Mr. Howard being desirous of giving the Hanoverian ministers a dinner, his wife was obliged to cut off her luxuriant hair to pay for the expense of the entertainment. This happened at a time when full-bottomed wigs were worn, and twenty or thirty guineas were often paid for those articles.

“The Princess Sophia, mother of George the First, distinguished Mrs. Howard with her favour ; but the attractions of the young English-woman had no effect upon the dull perceptions of George the Second until his father’s accession, when Mrs. Howard was appointed one of the bedchamber-women to Caroline, then Princess of Wales.

“The Whig party being in vogue, such of the younger nobility as belonged to it naturally formed the court of Caroline ; and the apartment of the bedchamber-women in waiting became the place of assembly for all the wits and beauties of that faction. * * * In the chamber of Mrs. Howard all was gaiety and thoughtless flirtation at that period. Whilst the Princess Caroline and Mrs. Clayton were discussing theological tenets with a freedom which drew upon them from Swift the odium of being ‘free-thinkers,’ Mrs. Howard was perfecting her manners and character to become the complete courtier.

The limits of these pages will but admit of a rapid sketch, though the life of Caroline Wilhelmina would supply materials for an interesting, and, in many respects, instructive volume. On the accession of George the Second to the throne, it was her influence which retained Sir Robert Walpole in office. The king had inclined towards Sir Spencer Compton, “who, so far from meditating to supplant the premier, had recourse to Sir Robert, and besought him to prepare the draught of the king’s speech. The new queen, a better judge than her husband of the capacities of the two candidates, and who had silently watched for a moment proper for overturning the new designations, did not lose a moment in observing to the king ‘how prejudicial it would be to his affairs to prefer to the minister in possession a man in whose

own judgment his predecessor was the fittest person to execute his office."

The queen also took another early opportunity of declaring her sentiments. Horace Walpole says—"Their majesties had removed from Richmond to their temporary residence in Leicester Fields on the very evening of their receiving notice of their accession to the crown, and the next day all the nobility and gentry in town crowded to kiss their hands, my mother among the rest, who, Sir Spencer Compton's designation, and not its evaporation being known, could not make her way between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees, nor could approach nearer to the queen than the third or fourth row; but no sooner was she descried by her majesty, than the queen said aloud, 'There I am sure I see a friend!' The torrent divided, and shrunk to either side; and as I came away, said my mother, 'I might have walked over their heads if I had pleased.'"

It may be that the penetration of Walpole early discovered that influence really lay with the queen, and that he paid his court accordingly; or some more honourable feeling may have originated the cordiality between them. Caroline appears to have taken great pleasure in the society of Sir Robert and Lady Walpole, and frequently dined at their house at Chelsea. On these occasions, however, the rigour of etiquette was maintained. Sir Robert did not sit down to table with his royal guest, but "stood behind her chair, and gave her the first plate, and then retired himself to a separate table." Lady Walpole took her seat at table in company with the lady in waiting; but when we call to mind that in those days it was esteemed the indispensable duty of a hostess to *carte*, the exception in her favour may perhaps be explained!

drawing-room." She corresponded with Leibnitz, and delighted in abstract science, about which and theology she and Mrs. Clayton, it is said, "puzzled" themselves.

Caroline was the friend and patroness of many celebrated divines and men of learning. Sir Walter Scott has invested her with an immortal interest by his celebrated introduction of Jenny Deans to her as a supplicant for the life of her sister. Her intercession saved the life of the unfortunate Richard Savage, when condemned to death for the life he took in a tavern brawl; and she settled an annuity of fifty pounds upon him, which, however, was withdrawn after her death.

This closing scene took place on the 20th of November, 1737. The queen had suffered for years from a painful and dangerous disease, unwisely concealing her calamity from her physicians, who, had they known the truth, might have alleviated her anguish. It is difficult to reconcile with her general behaviour her refusal to see Frederick, Prince of Wales, on her death-bed. In his youth she had shielded him on many occasions from the anger of his father; and in later years it is remarkable that, while his letters to the king were full of all the deferential expressions due to majesty, those to the queen abounded in the simpler words "madame" and "vous"—a familiarity that seems to tell of freedom and affection between them rather than of want of respect. Nevertheless, she refused him admission on that last awful occasion, though she sent him her blessing and forgiveness. Perhaps the mind of the poor queen—helpless and suffering in the last dread hour as the meanest of her subjects—wandered in its judgment. Certain it is, also, that she died without receiving the last sacrament. Whether confused by her controversial readings, she hesitated, or whether Archbishop Potter desired her personal reconciliation with the prince her son, is not known; but the prelate had a wily answer ready to meet all questioners. When a crowd eagerly asked, "Has the queen communicated?" he replied, evading a direct denial, "Her majesty is in a most heavenly disposition!"

With the death of the queen, Lady Sundon sank into obscurity. Lady Suffolk had already retired to Marble Hill, to become by-and-by the gossip and companion of Horace Walpole. The king soon surrounded himself with fresh faces, and probably forgot the superior women with whom he had been associated in the society of his new and acknowledged favourite, Madame de Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth.

SOPHIA CHARLOTTE,

THE WIFE OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD

SOPHIA CHARLOTTE was the youngest daughter of Charles Louis Frederic, son of Adolphus Frederic, the second duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and Albertine Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest Frederic, Duke of Saxe Hildburghausen

This princess was born at Mirow, in Mecklenburg, on the 16th of May, 1744. At an early age she evinced great mental powers, and as they were cultivated by a very superior education, she became one of the most accomplished princesses of Europe. She was educated with her sister, the princess, first at the palace of Mirow, and afterwards at Strelitz, to which the family removed on the death of her father, the duke, in 1751.

It is believed that George the Third's choice of his illustrious consort was decided by the perusal of the following letter, addressed by the Princess Charlotte to the great Frederic of Prussia, on his army entering the territories of his cousin, the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin.

employments of the husbandman and the shepherd are quite suspended; for the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil which they formerly cultivated. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children; while perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loss of limbs rendered unfit for service, is left at his door, where his little children hang round him, ask the history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate insolence of either army as it happens to advance or retreat, in pursuing the operations of the campaign. It is impossible, indeed, to express the confusion which they who call themselves our friends create; for even those from whom we might expect relief only oppress us with new calamities.

"From your justice, therefore, it is, sire, that we hope redress: to you even children and women may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest wrong."

It is scarcely necessary to add, that such a remonstrance had the desired effect.

The good feeling and noble sentiments contained in this letter made so deep an impression on the mind of King George, that he immediately caused strict inquiries to be set on foot respecting the disposition and character of this lady, and the result was a proposal for the hand of this princess. When thus selected as the future consort of the English monarch, the Princess Charlotte is described as being distinguished by every eminent virtue and amiable endowment.

The Earl of Harcourt was dismissed to Strelitz to conclude the treaty of marriage, and accompany the princess to England. Some delay was occasioned in the settlement of the contract, owing to the sudden death of the duchess-dowager, her mother, which occurred before the arrival of the British ambassador. At length the Princess Charlotte quitted her native land amidst many tears and regrets; for she was generally beloved amongst her own countrymen, who, at her departure, invented several pleasing devices to testify their attachment to her.

She was graciously received by the English people on her landing at Harwich, and on her way to London, and was united to King George the Third on the 8th of September, 1761, at the Chapel Royal, the ceremony being performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The marriage was followed by the congratulatory addresses of the various classes of her subjects.

King George the Third had selected his consort more on account of her mental qualifications than for her personal attractions. She was found to be remarkably amiable and courteous.

At the age of eighteen, Queen Charlotte has been described as small in stature, having auburn hair, light blue eyes, expressive of sweetness, a nose a little flattened and *retroussé*, rather a large mouth, and fine teeth. Although it could not be said she had a fine countenance, the expression of her features was most agreeable.

The coronation took place on the 22nd of September, 1761.

The dower assigned to Queen Charlotte was the same as that bestowed upon her predecessor, Queen Caroline, being 100,000*l.* per annum, with Richmond Old Park and Somerset House. This last was afterwards converted into public offices, and in lieu thereof the queen was presented with Buckingham House, by the king, who purchased it of Sir Charles Herbert Sheffield for the sum of 21,000*l.*

The queen applied herself with great assiduity to the study of the English language, in which pleasing occupation she passed many hours, assisted by the king, who read with her from the best English authors, in order to perfect her in the language.

CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK,

QUEEN OF GEORGE THE FOURTH

OF all the royal women in ancient or modern history there can scarcely be found one who has greater claims on the sympathy of her own sex than the ill-fated Caroline, consort of George the Fourth. Not that she was herself faultless or merely an injured woman, but because her situation as a wife and as a mother was more trying than any other which has been put on record.

Caroline was the second daughter of Charles William Ferdinand, hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who succeeded to that dukedom when she was in the second year of her age. Her mother was the beautiful and accomplished Princess Augusta, sister of George the Third, King of Great Britain. The birth of Caroline took place at Brunswick, May 16th, 1768. As a child her extraordinary health and robust constitution led her mother to make the remark, "Caroline is born for adversity, nothing would destroy her." Lady de Bode and Baroness von Munster were successively governesses to the royal child, who passed much of her time in the company of her parents, with whom she always dined, so that at quite an early age she was introduced into the society of the court. The attainments of Caroline when quite young were remarkable; she acquired a great proficiency in geography, astronomy, and history, in which last study she especially delighted, and spoke with ease the German, English, French and Italian languages. She was a good painter in water-colours, and to the delight of her father, with whom she was a favourite child, arrived at great proficiency in music, of which he was remarkably fond. Thus endowed with the power of pleasing, it is no wonder that the princess should have afterwards cultivated the society of literary people. Yet she was not distinguished by her mental qualities only; the goodness of her heart was testified by several charitable foundations, visits to public buildings, and personal attendances on the indigent and distressed. The children of

the poor would often follow her footsteps in her walks amid the palace gardens, being sure of a kind and affectionate welcome. The peculiar love of the princess for children afterwards was painfully injurious to her.

When seventeen years of age, a mutual attachment is said to have been formed between Caroline and a German prince of much reputation and merit, which, however, for reasons of state, and from motives of family pride, was discountenanced as soon as discovered by the Duke of Brunswick, who in this matter was influenced by his consort. The young prince afterwards fell in battle, and the princess, whose heart had been much affected by the intervention of the parental authority, was irretrievably wounded by the loss of the object of her attachment. The King of Prussia afterwards made overtures for her hand, and received a positive refusal; so that at the time Caroline reached her twenty-sixth year, she was yet unmarried. To the great joy of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the year 1794, the duke, her husband, received a formal proposal from George the Third, for the hand of her daughter Caroline: the news, however, was heard by the young princess with a composure amounting to indifference. Not that she was insensible to the honour conferred on her, in being selected as the bride of the heir apparent of the English throne; but she was already acquainted in part with some of the features of the character of her future royal lord. She had doubtless learnt that interest and ambition were the motives which induced him to seek her alliance. Was there not reason to despise an alliance with a man overwhelmed with debt, who sought only an increase of income, and whose associations with Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Countess of Jersey, and others, had been sufficiently notorious to reach the ears of his future consort? Add to this, the circumstance that Caroline had buried her own affections in an early tomb. If, however, the faults of the prince were known to Caroline, she had heard, too, of his many accomplishments, and accordingly yielded her consent to become the wife of the most finished gentleman in Europe.

customs of the people, amongst whom she was destined to reside. On March 28th, 1795, the princess embarked in the *Jupiter*, at Cuxhaven, attended by Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and Lord Malmsbury, as well as by Mrs. Ashton, and Mrs. St. Leger, who had been sent by the Prince of Wales to meet her : Lady Jersey was to have been one of the deputation of ladies, but had returned from Rochester under pretence of illness. Such an appointment, on such an occasion, has a parallel only in the introduction of Lady Castlemaine at court by Charles the Second, on his marriage to Queen Catherine of Portugal. After some few days' delay, owing to dense fogs, the princess passed up the Thames as far as Gravesend. That night was spent on board the vessel, but next day she landed at Greenwich Hospital, where she was received by the governor, Sir H. Palliser, and other officers ; and about an hour after, Lady Jersey arrived from town, with a dress for the princess, which was adopted in exchange for that which she wore on her arrival. Shortly after the princess and all her party, of whom, however, two German female servants alone had remained of those who quitted her own country with her, set off in three royal carriages, with a military escort, for St. James's Palace. Immediately on her arrival there, Caroline was introduced to her future husband, who not only received her with affability and kindness, but paid her many compliments. The king, queen, and other branches of the royal family dined with the prince and princess, when much attention was shown by his Majesty to his future daughter-in-law, but the queen seems to have evinced an opposite feeling towards her royal guest.

It is said that the attention shown by the prince at this first interview with Caroline, had awakened the jealousy of Lady Jersey, who, the following day, informed the bridegroom elect that the princess had confessed to her a former attachment to a German prince. Moreover, she so artfully contrived to poison his mind against his intended wife, that on the very next meeting, his manner was cool and reserved, and his conduct exceedingly altered.

The day appointed for the solemnisation of their nuptials was April 8th, 1795, when the ceremony was performed with the utmost magnificence, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, the bride being led in the procession by the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William the Fourth. It was indeed this prince's flattering encomiums on Caroline, whom he had seen during his frequent visits to Brunswick, that first induced George the Fourth to seek her as his wife. He was told she was strikingly like his favourite sister Mary, which was in his opinion

a realisation of all he could desire in the object of his choice. On the day of the marriage ceremony the aged king is said to have testified his regard for the bride by several little acts of kindness, greeting her in the hall with a paternal salute, while he squeezed the hand of the Prince of Wales so heartily as to bring tears into his eyes.

On the 7th of January, 1796, the Princess of Wales gave birth to a daughter, at Carlton House, who was shortly after baptised under the name of Charlotte Augusta; the sponsors being their Majesties and the Duchess of Brunswick, who was represented by the Princess Royal. This circumstance did not, as might have been expected, more closely unite the affections of Caroline and her husband, who not long after separated from each other's society, and the Princess of Wales resided for some time at Blackheath, in the greatest seclusion. The personal dislike of the queen to the princess had been obvious on her first arrival in the country, and through this she was almost excluded from the court. Under this painful situation of affairs Caroline devoted herself to the pleasing task of directing the education of her little daughter, whose establishment had been fixed at Shrewsbury House, Blackheath, in her own immediate neighbourhood. She was, however, only allowed the satisfaction of visiting her child one day in each week, on which joyful occasion she was in the habit of examining her progress, and had the pleasure of perceiving that her own instructions had been strictly adhered to.

The kindness of George the Third must have been deeply felt by Caroline, who experienced a continuation of his favour and friendship till it was interrupted by his distressing malady.

The death of the Duke of Brunswick, her father, at the battle of Jena, 1806, caused the widowed duchess to return to England, where, on her arrival, she repaired to her daughter's residence. She was there visited by George the Third, who had not beheld his sister for more than forty years. She was the only surviving princess of his family, and the meeting was painfully affecting on both sides. Nearly ten years had now been passed by the Princess Caroline separated from her husband, and without any accusation being made against her character or conduct. But this was now to have an end. There had, indeed, been secret inquiries on foot for as much as two years previous to the period we are about to enter upon, with the view of generating some charge against the princess, which might enable her husband to obtain a formal separation. It became evident that spies were set upon her proceedings; and a visit made by Caroline to Belvedere, a

seat of Lord Eardley's, merely to inspect the grounds and the paintings, had been seized on to furnish a charge. The porter of Belvedere, Jonathan Partridge, was sent for by Lord Moira, then a great companion of the prince, and questioned as to her behaviour, but with a result totally exculpatory of the princess. This might warn her that opportunity was seeking against her. Early in the year 1806, a secret inquiry was entered into respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, certain serious charges having been brought against her by Sir John and Lady Douglas, but the result was again a full acquittal of the princess. It was clear that Sir John and Lady Douglas were stimulated to their disgraceful attempt by mortified vanity, and public resentment was strongly expressed against them. But the animus of the court was shown by Sir John Douglas receiving high military promotion. Being publicly acquitted, it was, however, matter of considerable surprise that on the queen's birthday Caroline did not make her appearance at court; nevertheless, in the month of May she was introduced to the queen by the Duke of Cumberland, and received the congratulations of the nobility. Again, when the king entered his seventieth year, the princess appeared in public, and much attention was attracted by her elegant costume, the style of which reminded every one of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Subsequent to this, and notwithstanding that the princess had been acquitted of all blame in the late investigation, and re-admitted to court, she was more than ever restricted in her intercourse with her daughter. Even if their carriages met, the coachman of the Princess Charlotte was forbidden to stop, so that the mother and daughter saw little of each other. To remove the prohibition to their meeting, Caroline herself addressed a forcible appeal to her husband, without, however, obtaining the redress she expected. Not long after, the Princess Charlotte coming of age repaired to the queen's drawing-room, in company with her mother, it having been privately arranged between them that she should be presented by her. Being informed on their arrival that this could not be permitted, "Either my mother or no one," was her spirited reply; so the presentation did not take place. After this their meetings were more vigilantly interdicted than ever. The death of the Duchess of Brunswick, however, a circumstance painfully affecting to both Caroline and her daughter, led to a meeting which was this time at the suggestion of the Regent himself. Not long after, the Prince of Orange visited the English court, as a suitor for the hand of the fair heiress of the British crown. That a match so much desired by all

commission, under the direction of Sir John Leach, had been despatched to Milan in 1818. When Caroline had set out on her journey homewards, ministers were still led, by the statement of Mr. Brougham, her majesty's legal adviser, to hope that she would accept a settlement of 50,000*l.* per annum, and resign the crown. But it was found that Mr. Brougham had no authority for such proposition. The queen indignantly rejected it, and continued her journey. The persecutions which she had everywhere suffered, at home and abroad, seem to have roused her to a determination to meet and know the worst. No person of princely rank in this country had for years been so cruelly pursued by the vindictive power of a husband, who was himself married to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and living a scandalous life with other ladies. The king or prince had actually put her under a terrible law. He had declared that he would not meet her either in public or in private; and this was in itself an edict for her isolation from such as valued the favour of his court. All who looked for profit, preferment, or admission to the higher circles, avoided her as a pestilence. She stood alone. Such was the desolating effect of the regent's ban, that Caroline was ignored in the compliments paid to her husband by the kings of Europe. The conquerors of Napoleon when in England dared not visit her. The literary and philosophical felt the same influence, and obeyed it. Madame de Staël visited the prosperous and powerful husband, but shunned the persecuted wife. Her life was converted into a living death. Such associates as would have been suitable to her station, and honourable to her as a woman, were for the most part kept from her by her position, of which it was ruin to partake. Once arrived, the foreign calumnies were gladly taken advantage of by the king; and Lord Liverpool brought a bill into Parliament, July 5, 1821, to deprive Caroline of the right and title of queen, and to dissolve her marriage with George the Fourth. Witnesses were brought from Italy both for and against her; public and private examinations took place;

every demonstration of joy by the people, and a general illumination was kept up for several evenings in the metropolis.

Acquitted of crime, the queen naturally expected her royal situation to be acknowledged : when, therefore, orders were given for the coronation of her husband to take place July 19th, 1821, she demanded as a right to be crowned at the same time. Her request was refused, and also her request to be present on the occasion. At this critical moment the indignation of the queen and woman outstepped the bounds of prudence, and she declared that, in spite of this decision, she would attend at the ceremony. It was not believed that, in earnest, Caroline could contemplate such a step as to force herself into the king's presence at such a moment against his own commands ; yet such was the fact. On the morning appointed for the ceremony she repaired to the Abbey at an early hour, in a carriage drawn by six horses, attended by Lord and Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, who were of her household ; and demanded admittance. She was asked for her ticket : she replied, "She had none—and as Queen of England she needed none !" In vain did the first female in the land apply at this and the other several entrances : she was refused at all, and compelled to retire amid the loud cries and shouts of the populace, which were heard within the walls of the sacred edifice where the monarch was enthroned. What a moment for Caroline !—within, without, what feelings must have stirred on that day ! The popular demonstrations on the appearance of the queen had created a fear lest some outrage should be attempted ; but this was groundless. The people contented themselves with breaking the windows of some of the ministers, and the ceremony was concluded without disturbance, amid every pomp and pageantry which the magnificent taste of George the Fourth could devise.

So gorgeous, indeed, was this coronation, that it would seem as if the king had resolved to make it as magnificent as possible, that he might cause the queen the more acutely to feel the pain of being not only refused her just participation in it, but actually shut out from the sight of it. In an account of it written at the time, and attributed, and there can be no doubt justly, to the Author of *Waverley*, it is stated that the writer saw it with a surprise amounting to astonishment, and never to be forgotten. "The effect," he says, "of the scene in the abbey was beyond measure magnificent. Imagine long galleries stretched among the aisles of that venerable and august pile ! Those which rise above the altar pealing back their echoes to a full and magnificent quire of music ! Those which occupied the sides filled

even to crowding with all that Britain has of beautiful and distinguished ; and the cross gallery most appropriately occupied by the Westminster schoolboys, in their white surplices, many of whom might on that day receive impressions never to be lost during the rest of their lives. Imagine this, I say, and then add the spectacle upon the floor—the altars surrounded by the fathers of the church—the king encircled by the nobility of the land and the counsellors of the throne, and by warriors wearing the honoured marks of distinction, bought by many a glorious danger ; add to this the rich spectacle of the aisles, crowded by waving plumage, and coronets, and caps of honour, and the sun which brightened and gladdened as if on purpose, now beaming in full lustre on the rich and varied assemblage, and now darting a solitary ray, which caught, as it passed, the glittering fold of a banner, or the edge of a group of battle-axes or partizans, and then rested full on some fair form, ‘the cynosure of neighbouring eyes,’ whose circlet of diamonds glittered under its influence.

“I cannot describe to you the effect produced by the solemn yet strange mixture of Scripture, with the shouts and acclamations of the assembled multitude, as they answered to the voice of the prelate who demanded of them whether they acknowledged as their monarch the prince who claimed the sovereignty of their presence. It was peculiarly delightful to see the king receive from the royal brethren, but in particular from the Duke of York, the paternal kiss, in which they acknowledged their sovereign.

were performed by pages dressed very elegantly in *Henri Quatre* coats of scarlet, with gold lace, blue sashes, white silk hose and white rosettes. There were also marshals there for keeping order, who wore a similar dress, but of blue, and having white sashes. Both departments were filled up almost entirely by young gentlemen, many of them of the first condition. The foreigners were utterly astonished and delighted, and avowed that the spectacle had never been paralleled in Europe.

"There were a variety of entertainments provided for John Bull in the parks, the river, in the theatres, and elsewhere. Nothing was to be seen or heard but festivity and sounds of pleasure. It is computed that about five hundred thousand people shared in the festival, one way or another."

The only person shut out from this scene of lavish magnificence was the queen;—the only person who felt that she had no part in the pageantry or the joy, was the one who, equally with the king, had a right to be at the centre and summit of the unrivalled national demonstration. The king had been defeated in his attempt before parliament to condemn, degrade, and divorce his unfortunate wife, but here he could take his revenge. If that was his desire, he succeeded most completely.

This last blow had crushed the heart of the unfortunate Caroline—her spirits, which till this period had supported her under every trial, sunk beneath this heavy stroke of fortune. Her health declined, and she died on the 7th of August, 1821, in less than three weeks from the coronation, at Brandenburg House, in Hammersmith, being then only in the fifty-fourth year of her age. Her last will directed that her remains should be interred at Brunswick, and that her coffin should bear the inscription, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." The king, who had set out a few days before for Ireland, received the intelligence of her death at Holyhead, where his yacht had been detained by contrary winds.

The sufferings of the woman, wife, mother, queen, were ended: yet were not the remains of the ill-fated Caroline suffered to proceed in peace to their final resting-place. The corpse of the queen was removed on the 14th of August to be embarked at Harwich for the Continent. Near Kensington Church, an immense mob which had collected endeavoured to prevent the funeral procession from pursuing the route prescribed, and to force it to pass through the City instead of taking a circuit round London as had been arranged. To prevent its

progress the pavement was torn up and trees placed across the road. Thus interrupted, the procession had to pass through Hyde Park, and endeavouring to take the Edgeware-road at Cumberland Gate, the mob was so violent that a conflict took place and two persons lost their lives. The procession however proceeded to the New Road, by the Edgeware-road, but at the top of Tottenham-court-road was met by such a concourse of people that it was forced to take the route of St. Giles's, Drury-lane, and Whitechapel. It afterwards passed through Bow, Stratford, Ilford, and Romford; every demonstration of respect being testified by the people at those places. At Chelmsford, where the corpse remained for one night, it was conveyed into the church, followed by the members of the queen's own household. At Colchester a plate was affixed to the coffin, pursuant to the queen's will, with an inscription dictated by herself, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." But it was removed, in spite of the protestation of the executors, by the agents of government.

In this violent and disturbed manner were the remains of the unfortunate Caroline transmitted to Harwich, whence they were conveyed to the Continent by the Glasgow frigate, Lord and Lady Hood, Dr. Lushington, Serjeant Wilde, with Lady Anne Hamilton, attending them all the way to Brunswick. At Cuxhaven they were transferred to the Gannet sloop-of-war, in which they proceeded up the Elbe to Stade, where the firing of guns and tolling of bells announced their arrival. At every place the funeral was received with respect and sympathy. At Zell the authorities went out to meet it, the bells tolled, soldiers lined the streets, and young girls strewed flowers before the hearse. Singularly enough, the coffin when carried into the great church of that city was placed on the tomb of her almost equally unfortunate aunt, Matilda, Queen

grace, thou all just and most righteous Lord, recompense her in that state of perfection, for what was deficient here on earth," must have had a painful effect on the hearts of all present, who felt and mourned her wretched fate.

The names of Alderman Wood, of Lady Anne Hamilton, Dr. Parr, the Rev. Robert Fellowes, and others, who by their attentions and loyalty softened the bitterness of woe, and whose fidelity survived the tomb of their beloved queen and mistress, is written on a page of England's history, never to be erased; while the sufferings and sorrows of Caroline of Brunswick remain deeply imprinted on the hearts of the feeling and sympathising English public.

ADELAIDE.

THE life of Queen Adelaide has yet to be written. A faithful chronicle of her many private virtues can hardly be expected in the generation in which she lived. It was a part of her nature to avoid ostentation ; but while we have only the land-marks of general history to assist us in pointing out her career of charity and humility, it is at least satisfactory to observe, that all classes of her subjects are now ready to testify their approval of their Queen Consort, and their respect for their late Queen Dowager. Hers was a life, however, singularly barren of the multifarious accidents and adventures which befel so many of her predecessors on the English throne ; her destiny seems to have been cast according to the quiet, religious bent of her mind, and the strict morality of her retiring disposition.

between the two courts, which terminated in the arrival of the Duchess of Meiningen with her daughter in this country, and the marriage at Kew on July 13th, 1818, of the Duke of Clarence with Princess Adelaide. The Duke and Duchess of Kent were re-married at the same time, the service being performed in the queen's drawing-room, where an altar had been erected for the occasion, the Prince Regent giving away both the brides. They took possession of Clarence House, and shortly after proceeded to the Continent, having previously bid a last farewell to the aged Queen Charlotte, who died in the following November.

The ensuing winter and spring were spent with the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge at Hanover. Prince George of Cambridge was born there on the 26th of March, and on the next day the Duchess of Clarence was delivered of a seven months' female child, which lived but a few hours. In consequence of a debility of constitution, which displayed itself at this early date, she was recommended to travel, and she accordingly visited for a month her birth-place, Meiningen, where she was entertained with a series of fêtes and public rejoicings. Their royal highnesses thence repaired to the waters of Liebenstein, and not long after started on their return to England.

- The fatigue of the journey, however, was too great for the weak state of her health, and she was detained by illness, first at Dunkirk, and afterwards for a period of six weeks at Walmer Castle. During these serious attacks the duke never quitted her side.

The year 1820 beheld the birth and death of the only other living child of the Duchess Adelaide. That year, so eventful as regarded the succession to these realms, by the death of the old King, George the Third, and of the Duke of Kent, extinguished also all hopes of heirs to this third branch of the royal family, and left the little Princess Victoria, after the death of her three uncles, presumptive heiress to the Crown.

In June, 1822, the Duke and Duchess of Clarence again proceeded to the Continent, for the benefit of the health of the duchess. They visited most of their relatives in Germany on this occasion, the result being most beneficial to the health of the royal invalid, and they were accompanied on their return to this country by the family of Saxe-Weimar. In the intervals between their foreign tours they alternated their residence between Clarence House, St. James's, and Bushey Park, which latter residence had been prepared for their reception soon after their marriage. In 1825 they returned to Meiningen, to be present at

the nuptials of its duke, the young brother of Adelaide ; but the festivities there were abruptly brought to a close by the death of her uncle, and shortly afterwards by that of another more distant member of her family. The death of the Duke of York also at this period, while it gave to the Duke and Duchess of Clarence an increased importance in the eyes of this nation, added to the gloom of mourning into which they were so suddenly thrown.

They resided a good deal at this epoch at the Château à Quatre Tours at Ems, a favourite spot with the duke, because its scenery reminded him of that of the river St. Lawrence in North America. The birth-day of the Duchess of Clarence in the year 1826 was celebrated with great honours. Eighteen princes and princesses, all related to her, were present at the banquet, a song was composed in her honour and sung by the peasants, and the peasant girls in token of affection decked her with garlands, amid all sorts of festivities. In 1827, William as Lord High Admiral was much occupied in inspecting the ports and arsenals of the kingdom, and during this time Adelaide made a tour among the English nobility, from whom she received a cordial welcome.

The death of George the Fourth in 1830 at length called Adelaide to the throne of Great Britain as Queen Consort. A detail of the pageants with which the accession of William the Fourth, the Sailing, and his queen, Adelaide, were attended, will not be expected in this place. Parliament immediately testified its satisfaction by the munificent vote of £100,000 to the queen in the event of her surviving his majesty, and Bushey and Marlborough House were assigned as her royal residences for life. The royal couple acknowledged this ample provision in person in the House of Lords. The king and queen together visited the Tower in great state, and among their earliest public appearances were two visits to Greenwich Hospital. They walked in procession over the new London-bridge at its opening, and showered medals among the crowds, who received them with acclamations. In 1832 they opened the new bridge at Staines, and more than once presented themselves at the celebration of Eton Montem. While on the course at Ascot together, a man named Denis Collins hurled a stone at the King, occasioning much alarm and equal danger to the Queen. The great political feature of their reign, the passing of the Reform Act in the same year, cannot be omitted in this place, though, from the bias of the Queen's character as exhibited in subsequent events, it is supposed that this great

enactment was by no means agreeable to her, and might have met with her resistance, had she possessed the power.

Their majesties honoured the musical festival at Westminster Abbey with their presence during four several performances in the year 1834. During the months of July and August, Queen Adelaide paid a visit to her mother on the Continent. Her sister, the Duchess of Saxe Weimar, came over to England in the following year, and accompanied the queen on a state visit to Oxford. The court of England, during her short reign, was a model of purity, and a fitting resort for the young. Her virtues won the respect of all classes of the community.

Her affectionate heart was doomed to bear its two severest trials in rapid succession, in the year 1837. The first was the death of her mother; the second, the loss of her husband. King William had himself sustained a heavy affliction in the sudden decease of his child, Lady de Lisle. During his last illness, of some weeks' duration, Queen Adelaide devoted herself exclusively to attendance upon him. For twelve days she is reported never to have changed her dress, nor to have taken more than a brief repose at a time. Her hand chafed the cold hand of the king, and her voice responded to the religious offices performed at his bedside. She supported him for a whole hour before the fatal moment, and he died in her arms. But such a paroxysm of grief then fell upon her, as threatened her life. She privately attended his funeral.

Adelaide, now Queen Dowager, resigned the pomp of her regal station without a sigh, and retired to Bushey, between which place, Marlborough House, and St. Leonard's, she divided most of the remaining twelve years of her life. She was present at the marriage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, early in the year 1840. Her name, throughout her life, appeared before the public at the head of lists of subscribers for the relief of the distressed of different classes, as well as for the erection of new churches and other religious objects. But her health now rapidly declined, and she made a voyage to the islands of Madeira and Malta. At the latter island she founded and endowed the Church of Valetta. She was nineteen years a wife, and fifty-seven years of age, when she died. That event took place at Bentley Priory, on December 2nd, 1849, the princess, her sister, being present. The humility exhibited in her will renders it a standing lesson for princes. Following its instructions, her remains did not lie in state, but were removed to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, borne by sailors, and without procession.

Queen Adelaide loved hospitality, but well knew how to practise economy when she was Duchess of Clarence. Her reading was extensive, her love of music and pictures great. Perhaps, after all, the quality for which she deserved to be most respected has not yet been told. This was her unremitting kindness and attention to the sons and daughters of her husband by Mrs. Jordan. Her steady practice of this exalted generosity is beyond all commendation, and shows her to have been morally worthy of the title of queen.